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George Buchanan

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,
FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNTS OF THAT NATION,
TO THE
REIGN OF KING JAMES VI.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF
GEORGE BUCHANAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,
A Genealogy of all the Kings from Fergus I. to James VI.

SEVENTH EDITION.

REVISED AND CORRECTED FROM THE ORIGINAL,
BY MR. BOND.

EMBELLISHED WITH AN ELEGANT HEAD OF THE AUTHOR,
From an Original Painting in Anderson's Institution in this City.

VOL. I.



GLASGOW,
Printed by Chapman and Lang.

1799.

THE
EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO

JAMES VI.

KING OF SCOTLAND, AND FIRST OF ENGLAND.



AFTER four and twenty years absence, returning to my native country, I desired nothing more than to review my papers, that were dispersed, and many ways injured by the iniquity of the times; for I found, that the over officiousness of my friends, to precipitate the publication of what was yet unfit to see the light, and that excessive liberty which transcribers take to censure the works of other men, had altered many things, and corrupted others, according to their several humours. But whilst I was endeavouring to remedy these disorders, the sudden and unexpected solicitations of my friends broke my measures; all of them, as if they had conspired together, exhorting me to lay aside things of less weight, that rather delight the ear than instruct the mind, and apply myself to write the history of our nation as a subject not only suitable to my age, and sufficient to answer the expectation of my countrymen; but deserving great commendation, and most likely to preserve one's memory to succeeding ages. Amongst other reasons, which I omit, they added, that though BRITAIN be the most famous island in the world, and every part of its history contain most remarkable things; yet, scarce one was to be found in any age, who durst attempt so great a work, or if he did, was able to accomplish it.

Neither was it the least inducement to this undertaking, that I hoped my pains herein would not be unsuitable, nor unacceptable to your Majesty. For I thought it shamefully absurd, that your Majesty, who in your tender years, have read the histories of all nations, and retain very many of them in your memory, should only be a stranger at home. Besides, an incurable distemper having made me unfit to discharge in person, the care of your instruction committed to me, I thought that sort of writing, which tends to the information of the mind, would best supply the want of my attendance, and resolved to send your Majesty faithful counsellors from history, that you might make use of their advice in your deliberations, and imitate their virtue in your actions. For there are, amongst your royal ancestors, men excellent in every respect, of whom posterity will never be ashamed; and, to omit others, your Majesty will hardly find in history, any HERO worthy of your comparing with our DAVID. And if the Divine goodness was so liberal to him, in those most calamitous and wicked times, we may with reason hope, that your Majesty will be (as the royal prophet says), A pattern of all those excellencies, which mothers desire in their children, when they give them their best wishes; and that this GOVERNMENT, which seems to be hurried on to ruin and destruction, may be supported till the time shall come, when all sublunary things, having finished the course appointed them by God's eternal decree, shall arrive at their designed period.

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

Edinburgh, Aug. 27.



L I F E

O F

GEORGE BUCHANAN,

(Written by himself two years before his death.)

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in Lennox-shire, (commonly called the sheriffdom of Dumbarton,) in Scotland, situate near the river or water of Blane, in the year of our Lord 1506, about the beginning of February, in a country town within that shire, of a family rather ancient than rich. His father died of the stone, in the flower of his age; whilst his grandfather was yet alive, by whose extravagance the family, which was but low before, was now almost reduced to the extremity of want. Yet such was the frugal care of his mother, Agnes Heriot, that she brought up five sons and three daughters to mens and womens estate. Of the five sons, George was one. His uncle, James Heriot, perceiving his promising ingenuity in their own country schools, took him from thence, and sent him to Paris. There he applied himself to his studies, and especially to poetry; having partly a natural genius that way, and partly out of necessity, (because it was the only method of study propounded to him in his youth.) Before he had been there two years, his uncle died, and he himself fell dangerously sick; and being in extreme want, was forced to go home to his friends. After his return to Scotland, he spent almost a year in taking care of his health; then he went into the army with some French auxiliaries, newly arrived in Scotland, to learn the art military: but that expedition proving fruitless, and those forces being reduced, by the deep snows of a very severe winter, he relapsed into such an illness, as confined him all that season to his bed. Early in the spring he was sent to St. Andrew's to hear the lectures of John Major; who, though very old, read logic, or rather sophistry, in that university. The summer after, he accompanied him into France; and there he fell into the troubles of the Lutheran sect, which then began to increase: he struggled with the difficulties of fortune almost two years; and at last was admitted into the Barbaran college, where he was grammar professor almost three years. During that time, Gilbert Kennedy, earl of

Cassils, one of the young Scottish nobles, being in that country, was much taken with his ingenuity and acquaintance; so that he entertained him for five years, and brought him back with him into Scotland.

Afterwards having a mind to return to Paris to his old studies, he was detained by the king, and made tutor to James, his natural son. In the mean time, an elegy made by him, at leisure times, came into the hands of the Franciscans; wherein he writes, that he was solicited in a dream by St. Francis, to enter into his order. In this poem, there were one or two passages that reflected on them very severely; which those ghostly fathers, notwithstanding their profession of meekness and humility, took more heniously than men (having obtained such a vogue for piety among the vulgar) ought to have done upon so small an occasion of offence. But finding no just grounds for their unbounded fury, they attacked him upon the score of religion; which was their common way of terrifying those they did not wish well to. Thus, whilst they indulged their impotent malice, they made him, who was not well affected to them before, a greater enemy to their licentiousness, and rendered him more inclinable to the Lutheran cause. In the mean time, the king, with Magdalen his wife, came from France, not without the resentment of the priesthood; who were afraid that the royal lady, having been bred up under her aunt, the queen of Navarre, should attempt some innovation in religion. But this fear vanished upon her death, which followed shortly after.

Next, there arose jealousies at court about some of the nobility, who were thought to have conspired against the king; and, in that matter, the king being persuaded the Franciscans dealt unsincerely, he commanded Buchanan, who was then at court, (though he was ignorant of the disgusts betwixt him and that order), to write a satire upon them. He was loth to offend either of them; and therefore, though he made a poem, yet it was but short, and such as might admit of a doubtful interpretation, wherein he satisfied neither party; not the king, who would have had a sharp and stinging invective; nor the fathers, neither, who looked on it as a capital offence, to have any thing said of them but what was honourable. So that receiving a second command to write more pungently against them, he began that miscellany, which now bears the title of the Franciscan, and gave it to the king. But shortly after, being made acquainted by his friends at court, that cardinal Beton sought his life, and had offered the king a sum of money, as a price for his head, he escaped out of prison, and fled for England. But there also things were at such an uncertainty, that the very same day, and almost with one and the same fire, the men of both factions (protestants and papists) were burnt; Henry VIII. in his old age, being more intent on his own security, than the purity or reformation of religion. This uncertainty of affairs in England, seconded by his anci-

ent acquaintance with the French, and the courtesy natural to them, drew him again into that kingdom.

As soon as he came to Paris, he found cardinal Beton, his utter enemy, ambassador there; so that, to withdraw himself from his fury, at the invitation of Andrew Govean, he went to Bourdeaux. There he taught three years in the schools, which were erected at the public cost. In that time he composed four tragedies, which were afterwards occasionally published: but that which he wrote first, called the Baptist, was printed last, and next the Medea of Euripides. He wrote them in compliance with the custom of the school, which was to have a play written once a-year, that the acting of them might wean the French youth from allegories, to which they had taken a false taste, and bring them back, as much as possible, to a just imitation of the ancients. This affair succeeding, even almost beyond his hope, he took more pains in compiling the other two tragedies, called Jephtha and Alcestes; because he thought they would fall under a severer scrutiny of the learned. And yet, during this time, he was not wholly free from trouble, being harassed between the menaces of the cardinal on the one side, and of the Franciscans on the other. For the cardinal had wrote letters to the archbishop of Bourdeaux, to apprehend him; but, providentially, those letters fell into the hands of Buchanan's best friends. However, the death of the king of Scots, and the plague, which then raged over all Aquitain, dispelled that fear.

In the interim, an express came to Govean from the king of Portugal, commanding him to return, and bring with him some men, learned both in the Greek and Latin tongues; that they might read the liberal arts, and especially the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, in those schools which he was then building with a great deal of care and expence. Buchanan, being addressed to, readily consented to go for one. For, whereas he saw that all Europe, besides, was either actually in foreign or domestic wars, or just upon the point of being so, that one corner of the world was, in his opinion, likeliest to be free from tumults and combustions: and besides, his companions in that journey were such, that they seemed rather his acquaintance and familiar friends, than strangers or aliens to him. For many of them had been his intimates for several years, and are well known to the world by their learned works, as Nicholaus Gruchius, Gulielmus Garentæus, Jacobus Tevius, and Elias Vinetus. This was the reason that he did not only make one of their society, but also persuaded a brother of his, called Patrick, to do the same. And truly the matter succeeded excellently well at first, till in the midst of our enterprise, Andrew Govean was taken away by a sudden death, which proved mighty prejudicial to his companions. For, after his decease, all our enemies endeavoured at first to ensnare us by treachery, and soon after ran violently upon us as it were with open mouth; and their agents and instruments being great enemies to the ac-

cused, they laid hold of three of them, and haled them to prison; whence, after a long and lothsome confinement, they were called out to give in their answers; and after many bitter taunts, were remanded to prison again; and yet no accuser did appear in court against them. As for Buchanan, they insulted most bitterly over him, as being a stranger; and knowing also, that he had very few friends in that country, who would either rejoice in his prosperity, sympathize with his grief, or revenge the wrongs offered to him. The crime laid to his charge was the poem he wrote against the Franciscans; which he himself, before he went from France, took care to get excused to the king of Portugal; neither did his accusers perfectly know what it was: for he had given but one copy of it to the king of Scots, by whose command he wrote it. They farther objected, "His eating of flesh in Lent;" though there is not a man in all Spain but uses the same liberty. Besides, he had given some sly side-blows to the monks, which, however, no body but a monk himself could well except against.

Moreover, they took it heinously ill, that, in a certain familiar discourse with some young Portugal gentlemen, upon mention made of the eucharist, he should affirm, that, in his judgment, Austin was more inclinable to the party condemned by the church of Rome. Two other witnesses, (as, some years after, it came to his knowledge), viz. John Tolpin, a Norman, and John Ferrerius of Sub-Alpine Liguria, had witnessed against him, that they had heard from divers credible persons, "That Buchanan was not orthodox as to the Roman faith and religion."

But to return to the matter; after the inquisitors had wearied both themselves and him for almost half a year, at last, that they might not seem to have causelessly vexed a man of some name and note in the world, they shut him up in a monastery for some months; there to be more exactly disciplined and instructed by the monks, who (to give them their due) though very ignorant in all matters of religion, were men otherwise neither bad in their morals, nor rude in their behaviour.

This was the time he took to form the principal part of David's psalms into Latin verse. At last he was set at liberty; and suing for a pass, and accommodations from the crown, to return into France, the king desired him to stay where he was, and allotted him a little sum for daily necessities and pocket expences, till some better provision might be made for his subsistence. But he, tired out with delay, as being put off to no certain time, nor on any sure grounds of hope; and having got the opportunity of a passage in a ship then riding in the bay of Lisbon, was carried over into England. He made no long stay in that country, though fair offers were made him there; for he saw that all things were in an hurry and combustion, under a very young king; the nobles at variance one with another, and the minds of the commons yet in a fer-

ment, upon the account of their civil combustions. Whereupon he returned into France, about the time that the siege of Metz was raised. There he was in a manner compelled by his friends to write a poem concerning that siege; which he did, though somewhat unwilling, because he was loth to interfere with several of his acquaintance, and especially with Mellinus Sangelasius, who had composed a learned and elegant poem on that subject. From thence he was called over into Italy, by Charles de Cossé of Brescia, who then managed matters with very good success in the Gallic and Ligustic countries about the Po. He lived with him and his son Timoleon, sometimes in Italy, and sometimes in France, the space of five years, till the year of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixty; the greatest part of which time he spent in the study of the holy scriptures, that so he might be able to make a more exact judgment of the controversies in religion; which employed the thoughts, and took up all the time of most of the men of those days. It is true, those disputes were silenced a little in Scotland, when that kingdom was freed from the tyranny of the Guises of France; so he returned thither, and became a member of the church of Scotland.

Some of his writings, in former times, being as it were redeemed from shipwreck, were by him collected and published: the rest, which are still scattered up and down in the hands of his friends, he commits to the disposal of Providence.

Being at this time in the seventy-fourth year of his age, he still attends the education of James VI. king of Scotland, to whom he was appointed tutor in the year 1565; and quite broken with the infirmities of old age, he longs for the desired haven of his rest.

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

*He departed this life at Edinburgh on the 28th day of September,
anno Domini 1582.*

B



The names of the **KINGS of SCOTLAND.**

1 FERGUS 1.	38 Fethelmacus	76 Malcolm 1.
2 Feritharis.	39 Eugenius 1.	77 Indulphus.
3 Mainus.	40 Fergus 2.	78 Duffus.
4 Dornadilla.	41 Eugenius 2.	79 Culenus.
5 Nothatus.	42 Dongardus.	80 Kenneth 3.
6 Reutherus.	43 Constantine 1.	81 Constantine 4.
7 Reutha.	44 Congallus 1.	<i>surnamed</i> The Bald.
8 Thereus.	45 Goranus.	82 Grimus.
9 Josina.	46 Eugenius 3.	83 Malcolm 2.
10 Finnanus.	47 Congallu .	84 Duncan 1.
11 Durstus.	48 Kinnatellus.	85 Macbeth.
12 Evenus 1.	49 Aidanus.	86 Malcolm 3.
13 Gillus, (<i>base born.</i>)	50 Kenneth 1.	87 Donald Banus 7.
14 Evenus 2.	51 Eugenius 4.	88 Duncan 2.
15 Ederus.	52 Ferchard 1.	89 Edgar.
16 Evenus 3.	53 Donald 4.	90 Alexander 1.
17 Metellanus.	54 Ferchard 2.	<i>surnamed</i> , The
18 Caratacus.	55 Maldvinus.	Sharp.
19 Corbred 1.	56 Eugenius 5.	91 David 1.
20 Dardanus.	57 Eugenius 6.	92 Malcolm 4.
21 Corbred 2. <i>surnamed</i>	58 Amberkelethus.	93 William.
Galdus.	59 Eugenius 7.	94 Alexander 2.
22 Luctacus.	60 Murdacus.	95 Alexander 3.
23 Mogaldus.	61 Etfinus.	96 John Baliol.
24 Conarus.	62 Eugenius 8.	97 Robert Bruce.
25 Ethiodius 1.	63 Fergus 3.	98 David 2.
26 Satrael.	64 Solvathius.	99 Edward Baliol.
27 Donald 1.	65 Achaius.	100 Robert 2.
28 Ethiodius 2.	66 Congallus 3.	101 Robert 3.
29 Athirco.	67 Dongallus.	102 James 1.
30 Nathalocus.	68 Alpinus.	103 James 2.
31 Findochus.	69 Kenneth 2.	104 James 3.
32 Donald 2.	70 Donald 5.	105 James 4.
33 Donald 3.	71 Constantine 2.	106 James 5.
34 Crathlinthus.	72 Ethus.	* 107 Henry Stuart and
35 Fincormachus.	73 Gregory.	Mary Stuart.
36 Romachus.	74 Donald 6.	108 James 6.
37 Angusianus.	75 Constantine 3.	

* The name of Mary is set before Henry in the body of this history; because she reigned several years before her marriage with Henry, and also after his decease.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S C O T L A N D.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF ITS SEVERAL SITUATIONS, NATURE
OF ITS SOIL, CLIMATE, &c.

WHEN I first determined to write the famous achievements of our ancestors, and, after I had purged them from the mixture of vain fables, to vindicate them from oblivion, I thought it conducive to my purpose, to recite from the very beginning, (as much as so long a distance of time, and first the scarcity, then the loss of learned monuments, would permit), what the situation of the countries were; what was the nature of the soil and air; what were the ancient names and manners, and who were the first inhabitants, of the islands called of old, *Britanny*; which are extended between *Spain* and *Germany*, in a long track of land near the coast of *France*. *Albion* and *Ireland*, two of them, do far exceed the rest in extent; and therefore of these two I shall speak first; afterwards, as conveniency serves, I will explain the site and the names of the rest.

The first for extent, is *Albion*; which now alone retains the name of *Britain*, formerly common to them all. Concerning its breadth and length, other writers do, in effect, agree with *Cæsar*; namely, that the length of it from north to south, is 800 miles; and the breadth, where it is widest, which is (as some think) where it looks towards *France*; or (as others say) from the point of *St. David's* in *South Wales* to *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, almost 200 miles; from thence it narrows by degrees, till we come to the borders of *Scotland*. The *Romans*, who, as yet, knew not the farthest parts thereof, believed the island to be triangular; but when they proceeded a little farther, they found, that beyond *Adrian's wall*, it extended itself broader by degrees, and ran out far eastward. This, in brief, concerning its extent.

The climate of *Britain* is more temperate than that of *France*, as *Cæsar* affirms; but the climate of *Ireland* is milder than them both. The air therefore is seldom clear, but commonly darkened with

thick mists; the winters are mild enough, rather rainy than snowy. The soil brings forth corn plentifully; and, besides corn, it produceth all sorts of metals. It is also very fruitful in breeds of cattle. They who inhabit the extreme parts of the island, which are more infested with cold, eat bread made of oat-meal; and, for drink, they use a wine or strong liquor made of malted corn: some boil whey, and keep it in hogsheads under ground for some months; which is counted by many of them, not only a wholesome, but a very pleasant drink. There was no controversy concerning the name of Britain among the ancients, except that the Greeks called it *Bretannia*, the Latins, *Britannia*. Other nations, in their appellation of it, used one or other of these names, as they saw fit. But of late some men have started up, not so much desirous of truth as of contention, who hoped to make themselves famous by carping at other eminent persons: for they imagined that they must needs obtain a great opinion of learning amongst the vulgar, who dared to enter the lists against, and to combat with all antiquity; and though the dispute was about a thing of no great consequence, yet, because it concerned the very name of their country, they thought it worth contending for with all their might, as if the ancient glory of the whole nation had been at stake. They say, that three ancient names of the island have their several assertors, viz. *Prudania*, *Prytanea*, and *Britannia*. * *Llud* contends strenuously for *Prudania*; *Thomas Eliot*, a British knight, for *Prytanea*, but very modestly; almost all other nations do retain the name of Britain.

Llud, to maintain his assertion for *Prudania*, useth the authority of a certain old paper fragment, which rust, mouldiness, and length of time (and nothing else) have almost made sacred with him. Though he counts that proof firm enough of itself, yet he strengthens it by etymology; by the verses of the old bards; by the country dialect; and by the venerable rust of antiquity. But, in the first place, I ask him, whence came that fragment, on which he lays the stress and weight of his cause? When was it writ? Who was the author of it? Or, what says it, that makes for his assertion? Concerning the name, the time, the author, all these (he may perhaps allege) are uncertain, which proves, he thinks, the antiquity thereof. An excellent proof indeed! where the certainty, credit, and authority of the testimony doth depend on ignorance, meanness, and obscurity; and that which is made use of to explain the matter in controversy, hath more intricacy and weakness in it, than the cause which it is brought to defend. Who is the witness in this case? I know not, (says he). What is it that he offers for evidence? I know not that neither, (replies he); but this I have heard, that in that fragment it is called *Prudania*. But, prithee, tell me what is that *Prudania*? Is it a mountain, or a river? a village, or a town? a man, or a woman? Here I am posed too, (says he): but I conjecture that

* *Llud* or *Lloid*, and *Eliot*, two writers of British antiquities, in Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth's reigns.

Britain is signified by that name. Well then, let Prudania signify Britain; yet what doth this your fragment make for you? I would ask you this question; whether it affirms Prudania to be the true name of the island, or doth not rather upbraid their ignorance who ascribe that false name to it? Here too I am nonplust, (says Llod); but this I am certain of, that here is the sound of a British word; and the force of the British language doth appear, even in the very etymology thereof. For Prudania is as it were Prudcania, which is in British, *excellent beauty*, from *pryd*, signifying *beauty*, and *can*, *white*; the asperity of the word being somewhat molified. But for that reason it should be called Prudcamia, not Prudania; which word the bards do pronounce Pruda, in their country speech. I shall not here speak, how trivial, deceitful, and oftentimes ridiculous, this inquiry after the original of words is. I pass by Varro, and other learned men, who have been often laughed at upon this account. I omit also the whole *cratylus* of Plato; wherein he is guilty of the same fault. I will only affirm this, that, before impartial judges, a man may more easily prove, that the word *cambr* is derived from *canis* and *brutum*, a dog and a brute, than you shall persuade me, that Prudania comes from Prudcamia. For by this means you may derive *quidlibet* è *quolibet*, as you please. And indeed, Llod himself shews, what little confidence he puts in his own proofs, when he calls in the bards to his aid; a race of men, I grant indeed, very ancient, but yet antiquity affirms they committed nothing to writing. But of these I shall speak more elsewhere.

Let us now come to the last refuge of Llod. Cæsar, (says he) who first mentioned the name of this island in Latin, called it Britain; whose steps almost all Latin writers have trode in, did not change the said name. Here Llod begins with a notorious mistake, that Cæsar was the first of the Latins who called it by the name of Britain; for before ever Cæsar was born, Lucretius makes mention of Britain; and Aristotle, amongst the Greeks, long before him; and Propertius, not long after Cæsar, when he saith,

Cogor & in tabula pictos ediscere mundos.

Our force of art, in maps, the globe descrys,

Where painted nations meet our wond'ring eyes:

shews thereby, that, in his age, the description of the world in maps, was wont to be fastened to the walls of men's houses. I would ask yourself, Sir, do you indeed think, that Cæsar, who was so well skilled in all sorts of learning, did never see or read a description of the world? Or, can you be persuaded, that the island of Britain alone, the greatest in the whole world, then so famous both in the Latin and Greek monuments, was omitted in those maps? Or, do you believe, that Cæsar, who was so inquisitive to know the affairs of Britain, as, what men did inhabit that country then, and before his time; what animals and plants did grow, or were bred therein;

what were the laws and customs of the country; do you, I say, believe, that he, who had been so solicitous about those things, would have neglected to set down the name of the whole island? Or, that he, who, with so great faithfulness and diligence, gave right names to the cities of the Gauls, would deprive the Britons of their ancient glory? Upon the whole, I see no reason at all, why Llod should think that the old name of the island was Prudania, (for he values himself much on the account of this title), unless words do also contract authority from the rust of a worm-eaten paper. This is all I have to say to Llod at present, who, by home-bred witnesses, and by his own dreams together, hath thought fit to oppose himself against the current verdict of all the learned men that now are, or ever have been in the world.

As for sir Thomas Eliot, my task will be easier with him; he, being induced not only by probable conjectures, but also by some authors, and those not obscure, thinks, that the island was sometimes called Prytaneia. He judged it not improbable, that an island abounding with plenty of all things, not only for the necessities, but even the very ornaments of life, should be so called. In this case, if we should weigh the reason of names, Sicily rather deserves the title of Prytaneia, and so do some other islands also; which go as far beyond Britain in the fruitfulness of soil, as they fall short of it in the extent of territory. Besides; in those authors, by whose testimony the name Prytaneia is confirmed, it easily appears, that the orthography is vitiated. As for Stephanus, there is the highest inconsistency in him. In the word Albion, he says, that that is the island of Brettain, following Martian therein, as he alleges. In the words *juvernica* and *juverna*, it is writ Prætānica. Elsewhere, says he, in the ocean are the Brettish islands, whose inhabitants are called Brettains; but that Martian and Ptolemy, in these words, make *P* the first letter. If any one compare the places, without doubt, he will find that the writing is corrupted, and that Stephanus himself was of opinion, that Britannia ought to be writ by *B* the first letter, and two *T*'s. Eliot, I believe, was not ignorant of this, and therefore, being content to advertise his reader, as much as was needful, what things men, greedy of praise, will scrape together for the ostentation of their learning, he leaves the matter in dispute entirely to his judgment. But Llod, that you may know his disposition more fully, of the three names of this large island, approves that most, which hath the fewest assertors, viz. Prudania; next to that he commends Prytaneia. But he rejects Britannia, which name was now grown famous through all nations, and celebrated both in Greek and Latin monuments, (as Pliny affirms), as corrupted in track of time, and fixed by Julius Cæsar; whom he falsely affirms, (as hath been said) to have first mentioned the name of Britannia in Latin, and that he drew others with him into the same error. But I can prove the antiquity of the word Britannia, by many clear and ample testimonies, if that were the matter in dispute; and that

it was not corrupted by Cæsar, but delivered down to us, pure from hand to hand, by our ancestors, save that the ancients were wont to write it with a double *T. T.* (*Brittannia*); and therefore it was, as I suppose, that Lucretius made the first syllable of the word Britain long in verse; but now the Latins leave out one *T.*, which is still retained in the word Britto. The Greeks, who write Brettania; come nearest to the pronunciation of the country speech, which the Britons themselves, and all their neighbours, do yet retain. For the neighbouring Gauls call all British women Brettæ; and Brætter, with them, is to speak British: and a promontory in Gascogne is commonly called Cape-Bretton; and both sorts of Scots *i. e.* both the Albians and the Hibernians speak so too; only with this difference, that they who delight in the German dialect, do sometimes use the transposition of letters, and pronounce Berton for Breton. But Dionysius Aser in that verse,

Ωκεανὸν κεχῦται ψυχρὸς ῥοός, ἐνθα Βρετανοί.

Where mentioning the Bretanes to inhabit near the cold surges of the ocean, in putting away one *T.* in the word *Βρετανοί*, he hath used a poetical liberty, (as he hath also done in the word *Σαμίται* for *Σαρμάται* by an elision of the letter *ρ*. Here the consent of so many nations, almost from the very beginning of governments, both among themselves, and with the ancients, as well Greeks as Latins, will have greater weight with me, than all the hodgepodge trash of Llud, raked by him out of the dunghill, on purpose to be ridiculed, and preserved only for ignominy; and though they have a confident patron to urge them to give in a false testimony against antiquity, yet to make their aukward appearance they have not dared. Let him shew, if he can, what author ever wrote Prudania before Aristotle: Let him turn and wind himself as he pleases, he will never be able to do it; seeing, some ages after Aristotle, it is certain that the bards committed nothing to writing. Away then with that (shall I say?) vain-glorious, or may I not rather say senseless, boast of antiquity, of which no argument, no footstep, no, nor the least print of any footstep can be found.

Amidst this diversity of opinions, and the various modes and customs of speech, Llud thinks it most advisable always to look to antiquity, and the country manner of speech, as a pole-star; and by that, to direct the whole course of his language: for my part, I would not much dissent from him, if that, which was an ancient use, and therefore thought certain, could be always observed and kept. But there are several reasons why that cannot be done.

First, Because, in every language, it is very difficult to find out the original of words; and therefore it is more advisable, in this case, to follow the custom of the learned, than by a vain and ridiculous labour, always to search after originals, as after the fountain of Nilus; especially since the original of words depends not on the judgment of the wiser sort, but on the pleasure of the vulgar;

who, for the most part, are rude and unpolished; and therefore anxiously to inquire after reason, is a piece of needless curiosity; and, if you should find it out, it would not be worth your labour. For, as in the generation of all other things, which either grow naturally of themselves, or else are invented by men for the use of life, the first embryos are very imperfect, and come forth less acceptable; not only for use, but even for sight; yet afterward, by culture, they are improved, and are made amiable by good management. It is so in language, which, taking its first rise from men rude and impolite, came forth harsh, rugged, and uncouth; until, by use, it gradually put off its natural horror and unpleasantness, becoming more gentle and sweeter to the ear, and more easily insinuating itself into the minds of men. And, therefore, in this case (if any) I think something is to be indulged to the custom of men more polite than others; and that such a pleasure, which is neither uncomely nor ungraceful, as far as it is not hurtful to men's manners, is not to be despised. But if any one is born under such an ill constellation, that he rather affects the language of Cato and Ennius, than of Cicero and Terence; and when corn is found out, yet had rather feed on *mast* still, my vote is, *Much good may it do him*. But this, our present dispute, is not concerning the purity and elegance of the Latin tongue; for it does not come within the compass of it, to know how the Britons, of former ages, sounded their letters or their words. My whole endeavour is to shew how the Latins may learn the British, not how the British may learn the Latin pronunciation. For my part, I had rather be ignorant of the gibberish of the old Britons, than forget that little of the Latin tongue which I imbibed with great pains when I was a youth. And I have no other reason for lessening my disgust when I find the ancient Scottish language dying away by degrees, but this one consideration, which I own is very pleasing to me, and it is this; that while we banish those wild barbarous sounds, we borrow harmonious ones from the Latin, and substitute them in their room. And in this transmigration of languages, if one must needs yield to another, good-now, of the two, let us pass from rusticity and barbarism, to culture and humanity; and, by our choice and judgment, let us put off that uncouthness which accrued to us by the infelicity of our birth. And if our pains and industry can avail any thing in this case, let us bestow them all this way, viz. to polish, as much as we can, the Greek and Latin tongues, which the better part of the world hath publicly received; and, if there be any solecisms or flaws sticking thereto, from the contagion of barbarous languages; let us do what we can to purge them away.

Besides, this over-anxious diligence about foreign names, especially in transferring them into another language, can never be observed, neither is it expedient that it should: for what language is there which hath not some letters and sounds, which cannot fully be expressed by the characters of another tongue? What nation,

besides the German, can pronounce the letter *W*? Who can give that sound to the letters *D, G, P, T, X,* and *Z,* in Latin, which the Spaniards, the Britons, and part of the Scots, do?

Because, of this absurdity of sound, as I suppose it is, that Pliny, reckoning up the cities of Spain, denies that some of them can be well pronounced in the Latin tongue: some he calls ignoble, and of barbarous appellation; others, he says, cannot be so much as named without grating the ear. What, I beseech you, would Llod do in this case, if he were to write the history of Britain in Latin? With all his stock of rusty barbarism, I believe he would scarce know how to pronounce the genuine names of the Britons. For seeing he vexes himself so much how he should write Llod, either Lhuyd, or Llod, or else bare Ludd, none of which can be written, pronounced, or heard amongst Latinists without regret: if he retains the true sound, he will make not a Latin, but a semi-barbarous oration; but if he bend foreign words to the sound of the Latin, he will commit as great a trespass as Cæsar is said to have done in the word *Britannus*. What then shall we do to please so captious and so morose a person as Llod? Shall we call the island *Prudamia*, rather than *Britannia*? Llod himself, who is so severe a censor of others, will not exact this of us; he will permit it to be called *Prudania*, from *Pruda*. But if any one dare to pronounce and call it *Britannia*, or *Brettania*, he'll lay about him, and accuse him presently of violating sacred antiquity, of corrupting and contaminating the ancient and sincere language, and of turning it into an effeminate and soft pronunciation, from a robust and masculine sound. What shall we do in this case? May we not take leave to brighten some expressions, and rescue them from the gloom of antiquity by changing their air? Or, if we must not change, yet, pray, may we not polish some rough words, and soften them a little from their harshness and barbarity, that, at least, they may sound like the speech of men? We see our ancestors have done this in the words *morini*, *moremarusa*, and *armorici*; so that, if we cannot make those words free of old Rome, yet, at least, we may imitate the garb and similitude of the Latin in them. But I see Llod will not allow us that liberty. He calls us back to the august antiquity of the *Prudany's*, and forbids us to depart in the least from the bards and *senachies*. But the ancient Greeks and Latins were never so strait-laced; for when the stiffness of their ancient speech began a little to remit, there was none among them who had rather pronounce *famul* and *volup*, than the words which were substituted in their rooms; and they used a great liberty in translating Latin words from Greek, and Greek from Latin. Who ever blamed the Latins for turning Polydeuces into Pollux, Heracleis into Hercules, Asclepios into *Æsculapius*? Or who hath reproved the Greeks for calling Catulus, Catlus, and Remus, Romus? Nay, what did the Greeks do, in translating barbarous words into their own language? did they ever make any scruple to turn *al*, a punie

termination, into *as*, in the end of words? If a man pronounce Annibas for Annibal, must he (forsooth) presently tread under foot the majesty of all history? Must he be said to corrupt the truth, or to do a notorious injury to the Punic language? See how the study of humanity and politeness, which was eminent amongst the ancient Saxons, and the Danes, who passed over later into Britain, differs from Llad's uncouth and slovenly affectations. They being rude and ignorant of all learning, when they came to men that used a barbarous and broken kind of language, were so far from suffering themselves to be infected with their solecisms; that, on the contrary, when they had once tasted of the sweetness of the Latin tongue, they pared away much of the roughness which they had brought upon it: they rendered some harsh words so smooth, as to make them less offensive to the ear, such as are *Oxsnia* and *Roffa*, for *Oxonfordia* and *Raufchestria*, and many others, which Llad himself does not pretend to contradict. And he allows himself the same liberty in many other words, though he is so severe and so obstinate a critic in this one word, *Britannia*. But now he stiffly opposes the ancient custom of all nations, for a new, obscure, and uncertain word; lest, forsooth, the royal name of Llad, descended from old Brennus, and kept as a palladium to this very day, should be buried in oblivion. To prevent which, Llad manages a contest against the general consent of mankind, the antiquity of time, and even against truth itself.

There is yet also another observation to be made upon the word *Britannia*, that foreign writers make it the name of the whole island; but the Britons and English, who have written the British history, sometimes agree with foreign writers in their appellation of it; and sometimes they call only that part of the island Britain, which was a Roman province, and that variously too, as the event of war changed the borders; for sometimes they made the wall of Adrian, sometimes that of Severus, the limits of their empire; the rest, which were without those walls, they sometimes termed barbarous, sometimes outlandish people. Bede, in the beginning of his first book, writes thus: "Wherefore the Picts, coming into Britain, began to inhabit the north part of the island; for the the Britons inhabited the south." He says also, chap. xxxiv. "Aidan was king of the Scots, who inhabit Britain." And lib. IV. chap. iv. writing of the return of Colman out of England into Scotland, he says, "In the mean time Colman, who was of Scotland, leaving Britain," and elsewhere, "Then they began, for several days, to come from the country of Scotland into Britain." And farther, "Oswald was slain near the wall that the Romans had built from sea to sea, to defend Britain, and to repel the assaults of the barbarians." The same form of speech is found in the same author, lib. II. chap. ix. Claudian doth not seem to be ignorant of this manner of speech, peculiar to the Britons, when he writes, That the Roman legion, which curbed the

fierce Scot, lay between the Britons, *i. e.* opposite to the Scots, that it might cover the Britons from their fury in the farthest part of England, and borders of Scotland. William of Malmsbury, and Geoffry of Monmouth, none of the obscurest writers of British affairs, do often use this kind of speech, in whom a man may easily take notice, that that only is called Britain, which is contained within the wall of Severus. Though this matter be so clear in these writers, that no man can be ignorant of it, yet it hath produced great mistakes among the writers of the next age, what some have affirmed in their works, *i. e.* that Alured, Athelstan, and some other of the Saxon kings, did sometimes reign over the whole island, when yet, it is clear, they never passed beyond the wall of Severus. For when they read, that they held the empire of all Britain, they presently thought that they were masters of the island, and had it wholly in their own hands.

We may observe the same likewise from the constant way of using those names, Britannus and Britto; for all the old Greek and Latin writers call the whole island Britannia, and all its inhabitants Britains, without making any distinction. The first that I know of the Romans who called them Brittons, was Martial in that verse,

Quam veteres braccha Brittonis pauperis.

—The old trousers of Britton poor.

The vulgar commonly call the inhabitants of the Gallic peninsula, Brittons, though Gregory *Turonensis always calls it Britain, and its inhabitants Britains. The Romans do constantly call their provincials Britains, though their provincials themselves like the name of Brittons best. Both names have one *radix*, and one original, *viz.* Britannia; and as they both spring from one and the self same root, so they both signify one and the self same thing. And that the verses of Ausonius the poet do plainly shew.

‡ *Silvius ille bonus, qui carmina nostra lacessit :
Nostra magis meruit desticha Britto bonus.*

*Silvius hic bonus est. Quis Silvius? Iste Britannus.
Aut Britto hic non est Silvius, aut malus est.*

* Bishop of Tours.

‡ This epigram was made by the poet against one Silvius, surnamed Bonus, of Little-Britain in France, against whom he had a pique, (and, it seems, against the whole nation of the Britains for his sake.) He takes an occasion to jeer him from the ambiguity of his surname *Bonus*, which signifies also *good* in Latin, and (by the figure *antiphrasis*) *evil*, as here sometimes it is taken. This author makes it a dodecastich, whereas later interpreters have divided it into six distichs, (but all one subject,) according to the poet's mind, expressed in the first of them. They are not here quoted for the sarcasms contained therein, (and therefore are not here translated,) but only to shew that, in this poet's time, who lived under Gratian the emperor, about *anno Christi* 390, Britto and Britannus were terms synonymous.

Silvius esse Bonus Britto, ferturque Britannus,

Quis credat civem degenerasse bonum?

Nemo bonus Britto est. Si simplex Silvius esse

Incipiat, simplex desinet esse bonus.

Silvius hic bonus est: sed Britto est Silvius idem.

Simplicior res est dicere, Britto malus.

Silvi, Britto Bonus, quamvis homo non bonus esse

Ferris, nec se quis jungere Britto bono.*

They who contend, that the Britons were a colony of the Gauls, do say, that Hercules begat a son on Celto, a Gallic virgin, called Britannus, from whom the nation of the Britons had their original. Pliny placeth this nation near to the Morini, the Atrebrates, and the Gessoriaci. Neither are there wanting some Greek grammarians to confirm it; as Suidas, and he who wrote the book called Etymologicum Magnum. C. Julius Cæsar, and C. Cornelius Tacitus, seem to have been of the same opinion; and so do other Latin writers also, not unlearned, yet not so famous as those two. Besides, the religion, speech, institutions and manners of some nations, inhabiting near the Gallic sea, do evince the same thing; from whence the Britons were, in my opinion, transplanted by whole colonies, and the Morini by little and little quite extinguished. The word *morinus* seems to draw its etymology from *more*, which, in the old Gallic tongue, signifies the sea. *Venta*, called in old Latin, *Venta Belgarum*, (because inhabited by the Gallo-Belgæ) *i. e.* Winchester; and *Icenum* derived from *Icium*: these names make it very probable, that their colonies transported with them into a foreign soil their own country terms in the place of a surname; and at their very entrance, meeting with the Britons, whom they acknowledged to be their offspring, they brought them home, and did, as it were, maintain them at their own houses. For *morinus* amongst the old Gauls, signifies *marinus*; and *moremarusa*, *mare mortuum*: though Gorropius hath almost stolen from us these two last names, whilst he is studious to extol his Aduatici beyond measure. Neither can the Aremorici, or Armorici, deny that they are of our stock; for we have ample and clear testimonies, both old and new, as pledges thereof; because *ar*, or *are*, is an old Gallic preposition, which signifies *at*, or *upon*; as if we should say, *at* or *upon* the sea, *i. e.* maritime. And *moremarusa* is derived from *more*, *i. e.* *mare*, the sea; the last syllable being long, after the manner of a Greek participle. As for Aremorica, or Armorica, (he that cannot know them at first hearing, must be wholly ignorant of the old Gallic tongue), they also signify maritime; and so Strabo interprets them, who in Greek always renders them *Apoccanitæ*. Cæsar writes thus of the Armoricks, lib. V. “That great forces of the Gauls, out of the

* The printed books read *Britto & Iomo*, which is scarce sense; and therefore Vinetus hath amended it, *Britto bono*.

“ cities called Armoricæ, were gathered together to oppose him.” And lib. VII. “ Out of all the cities near the ocean, which, according to their custom, are called Armoricæ.” And lib. VIII. “ And the other cities situate in the extreme parts of France, near the sea, called Armoricæ.” As often as Cæsar makes mention of these cities, he always adds, “ Which are so called;” but he so adds it, that it rather seems an epithet, or surname of a place, than its proper name. Neither is that found to be the name of a city in any other authentic writer, yet that word is spread far and near in that coast, viz. from Spain to the Rhine; and amongst all writers, I find Pliny alone seems not to understand the force of the word; for he thinks that all Gascogne was sometimes so called. But enough of it at present; more may be said of the Gallic tongue hereafter.

The most ancient name of the island is thought to have been Albion; or, as Aristotle, or rather Theophrastus, in the book intitled, *De Mundo*, writes it, Albium. But that name is rather taken out of books, than used in common speech, unless amongst the old Scots, who, as yet, call themselves Albinich, and their country Albin. Many think, that this name was given to it, from the white rocks which first appear to mariners, as they sail from France. But it seems very absurd to me, to fetch the original of a British name from the Latin, there being then so little commerce between strange nations. Others are of opinion, that this name was given by Albion the son of Neptune, whom they feign to have been sometime king of Britain: a bold fiction, and having no ground from antiquity to support it; yet some are not ashamed to give Albion this kingdom, upon so weak a foundation as that of a similitude in names. For I see no other foundation in history, which might occasion this fable. Amongst the Greeks, it is true, Diodorus Siculus and Strabo have made mention of Albion and Bergion; of the Latins, Cato, Hyginus, and Mela; from whom we may gather, that Albion and Bergion, the sons of Neptune, being Ligurians, infested the highways with robberies, which lead from the country of the Albici into Italy. These men, when Hercules, after he had conquered Geryon, was returning out of Spain, sought to rob him of his prey, and maintained so sharp a fight with him, that he, almost despairing of victory, (as old story says), was forced to implore the aid of Jupiter, who sent down a shower of stones to relieve his son; and that the field of stones remained to posterity as a testimony of that fight. I will not deny, but that both the island, and the robber too, took their name from Album. But this I say, that Album was a common name amongst many nations, and that it signified with them, not only colour, but height too. And Festus Pompeius affirms, that what the Latins call Alba, the Sabines call Alpa; from whence the Alps had their name, because they are white with continual snow. For my part, as I assent concerning the one, that Album and Album were synonymous amongst the ancients, and I

have the authority not of Festus only, but of Strabo also, to support my opinion; so I also judge, the Alps were so called, rather from their height than their whiteness. My reasons are, first, because Alba is the name of many cities in Italy, France and Spain, which are all situate on hills, or near them: and besides, because Strabo acknowledges, that these names, Alba, Alpa, Alpia, Albionia, Albici, without any difference, are derived from the same root, in the signification of height; and therefore he shews, that they are most used, where the Alps begin to grow high. Hence, in Liguria, there is Albingaunum, and Albium Intimelum; and among the Iapodes there is Albium an exceeding high cliff, where the Alps do end. There are other places, which may seem to be so named from their height. In Italy there is the river Albula, rising in the mountains of Etruria, and the waters called Albulae, flowing down from the Tibertine mountains. In Gallia Narbonensis there are the Albici, a mountainous people. In Germany there is the river Albis, arising from the mountains of Bohemia. In Asia, the river Albanus flows down from mount Caucasus, and the Albanians dwell about the same mountain. By which instances I think we may conclude, that Album is not a word of *one*, but *many* nations; and in all the places which I have named, their height is always one and the same; but their whiteness happens but for some few months in the year, and in some of them not at all. The names of the Ligurian giants do also confirm this conjecture, Albion and Bergion, both of them, as I judge, being named from their tallness. What the ancients thought of the word Album, I have said enough. That the Germans call high, *Berg*, is too well known to want explanation: and there is a place in Pliny that shews, it was anciently used in the same sense amongst the Gauls; it is in his third book, which I am of opinion must be thus read: "Whence Cato affirms, the Bergomates to have had their original, they discovering themselves by their names to be situated more highly, than happily." Therefore Albion and Bergion were men, it seems, far taller than their neighbours, who, in confidence of their strength, did commit robberies in those coasts of Liguria, whom Hercules, travelling that way, subdued by force of arms. But none of the ancients ever affirmed that they reigned in Britain, and the then state of the Gallic affairs makes it very improbable that it should be so; and it is likely, that the state of Britain was not much more quiet; in which land the great Albion left a famous kingdom, that he might play the robber at home. Now, as I do not much differ from their opinion, who assert, that Albion was so called from Album; so I think the occasion of the name was not from the colour, but from the height of the mountains: they who imposed that name were, I believe, something inclined thereunto by comparing England with Ireland, there being but a narrow sea between them: for they seeing one shore to be altogether mountainous, and the other depressed, level, and spread into champaign or open fields, they called the first, Albi-

on, from its height; but whether they gave any name to the second, from its low situation, the length of time, and the negligence of the inhabitants in recording ancient affairs, hath made uncertain. Besides, this also adds strength to my opinion, that the name of the island, derived from Album, whether Albion, or Albium, remains in Scotland to this very day, as in its native soil; neither could it ever be extirpated there, notwithstanding so many changes of inhabitants, kingdoms, languages, and the vicissitude of other things. These things seem true, or at least probable to me; yet if any man can inform me better, I will easily be of his opinion.

Hitherto of the ancient names of the island; the next thing is, to explain the situation of the countries. The English writers have plainly and clearly enough described their own several counties: but Hector Boetius, in his description of Scotland, hath delivered some things not so true, and he hath drawn others into mistakes, whilst he was over-credulous of those, to whom he committed the inquiry after matters, and so published their opinions rather than the truth. But I shall briefly touch at those things which I am assured of; and those which seem obscure and less true, I will correct as well as I can.

ENGLAND, as far as concerns our present purpose, is most conveniently divided by four rivers, two running into the Irish sea, viz. Dee and Severne; and two into the German sea, *i. e.* Thames and Humber. Between Dee and Severne lies Wales, being distinguished into three several regions. Between Severne and Thames, lies all that part of England which is opposite to France. The countries interjacent between Thames and Humber, make the third part; and the countries reaching from Humber and Dee to Scotland, make up the fourth.

But Scotland is divided from England, first, by the river Tweed; then, by the high mountain Cheviot; and where the mountain fails, then by a wall or trench newly made, and afterwards by the rivers Esk and Solway. Within those bounds, from the Scottish sea to the Irish, the counties lie in this order. First, Merch, in which the English do now possess Berwick, situate on the left side of the Tweed. On the east it is bounded with the frith of Forth. On the south with England. On the west, on both sides the river Tweed, lies Tiviotdale, taking its name from the river Tiviot: it is divided from England by the Cheviot hills. After this lie three counties not very great, Liddisdale, Euesdale, and Eskdale, being so called of three rivers which have an affinity in the sound, viz. Lidal, Eue, and Esk. The last is Annandale, taking its name from the river Annan, which divides it almost in the middle, and, near to Solway, runs into the Irish sea.

Now to return again to Forth; on the east it is bounded by Lothian. Cockburne's path and Lammermuir hills divide it from Merch. Then, bending a little to the west, it touches Lauderdale and Tweeddale; the one so called from the town Lauder, the other

from the river Tweed, dividing it in the middle. Liddisdale, Nithsdale, and Clydesdale, do border on Tweeddale on the south and west. The river Nith gives name to Nithsdale, running through it into the Irish sea. Lothian was so named from Lothus, king of the Picts. On the north-east it is bounded with the Forth, or Scottish sea, and it looks towards Clydesdale on the south-west. This country does far excel all the rest, in the civility of its inhabitants, and in plenty of all things for the use of life. It is watered with five rivers, Tyne, both the Esks, (which before they fall into the sea join in one channel), Leith, and Almond. These rivers, arising partly from the Lammermuir hills, and partly from Pentland hills, discharge themselves into the frith of Forth. Lothian contains these towns, Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, Edinburgh, Leith, and Linlithgow. More to the west lies Clydesdale on both sides the river Clyde; which, by reason of its length, is divided into two sheriffdoms. In the uppermost of them there is an hill, not very high, yet out of it rivers run into three divers seas, Tweed into the Scottish, Annan into the Irish, and Clyde into the Deucalionian seas. The most eminent towns in it, are Lanark and Glasgow. Kyle on the south-west is adjoining to it; beyond Kyle is Galloway. It is separated from Nithsdale by the river Clyde, bending almost wholly to the south, and that remaining part of Scotland is also covered by its shore.

It is all more fruitful in cattle than corn; it hath these rivers running into the Irish sea, Ure or Ore, Dee, Kenn, Cree, and Luss; it hath scarce any great mountains, but only some small hills in it; between which the water, confined in the valleys, makes abundance of lakes, by which in the first showers after the autumnal equinox, the rivers are increased, which bring down an incredible quantity of eels, which the inhabitants take in weels made of osier twigs, and, salting them, get no small profit thereby. The boundary of that side is the Mull of Galloway, under which, in the mouth of the river Luss is a bay, which Ptolemy calls Rerigonius. The bay commonly called Loch Ryan, and by Ptolemy, Vidogara, flows into it on the other side from the frith of Clyde. The land running betwixt those bays, the inhabitants do call Rinns, *i. e.* the edge of Galloway: they also call Nonantum, the Mull, *i. e.* the beak, or jaw; but the whole country is called Galloway; for Gallovid, in old Scottish signifies a Gaul.

Below Loch Ryan, on the back side of Galloway, there lies Carrick bailiery, gently declining to the frith of Clyde. Two rivers pass through it, Stinchar and Girvan, both of them having many pleasant villages on their banks. Between the rivers there are some small hills, fruitful for pasture, and not unfit for corn: it is all not only self-sufficient with land and sea commodities, but it also supplies its neighbours with many necessaries. The river Doon separates it from Kyle, which ariseth from a lake of the same name, wherein is an island with a small castle. Kyle follows next, bordering upon

Galloway on the south, and on the north-east on Clydesdale; on the west it is separated from Cunningham by the river Irvine; the river Air divides it in the middle. Near it is situated Air, a town of great trade; the country in general abounds more with valiant men, than with corn or cattle; for the soil is poor and sandy, and that sharpens the industry of the inhabitants; and their parsimony confirms the strength both of their bodies and mind. After Air, Cunningham runs on the north, and doth as it were jumble out and straighten the Clyde, and brings it into the compass but of a moderate river. The name of the country is Danish, and in that language, signifies *The king's house*; which is an argument, that the Danes did sometime possess it. Next is Renfrew, situate at the eastern part thereof; so called from a little town, wherein they were wont to celebrate their conventions; it is commonly called the barony of Renfrew. Two rivers, both of them called Cart, divide it in the midst. After the barony of Renfrew, Clydesdale is stretched out on both sides of the river Clyde, and, in regard of its largeness, is divided into many jurisdictions. It pours out many famous rivers, on the left hand, Avon and Douglass, which run into the Clyde, and on the right, another river called Avon, which divides Lothian from Stirlingshire. These two currents take the common appellation of rivers, instead of a proper name, as, in Wales, the river called Avon doth in a divers dialect. The river Even or Avon, separates the county of Stirling on the south from Lothian; on the east the frith of Forth, until at last, being lessened, it is reduced to the proper size of a passable river, and admits of a bridge near Stirling.

There is but one memorable river which divides this country, called Carron water, near which there are some ancient monuments. On the left hand of Carron, there are two small hills or barrows, made of earth by man's hand, (as the thing itself shews,) commonly called *Duni pacis*, i. e. Emblems of reconciliation. But about two miles lower, on the same river, there is a round edifice made without any lime, but so formed with sharp stones, that part of the upper stone is, as it were, mortassed into the lower; so that the whole work, mutually conjoined, sustains itself with the weight of the stones from top to bottom, growing narrower and narrower by degrees. The top of it is open: the common people have several fancies, according to their divers humours, concerning the use and author of this structure. For my part, I once conjectured that it was a temple of the god Terminus; which, they say, was wont to be built round and open at top: and the *Duni pacis* near adjoining, seemed somewhat to strengthen my conjectures as if a peace had been made there, of which these hills are a monument, because there the Romans terminated the bounds of their jurisdiction and empire; neither could any thing have altered my opinion, unless I had been informed by creditable persons that, in a certain island, there are many edifices in other respects like the

structure which I have spoken of, but that they are greater and not so compact. There are also two chapels in Ross of the like shape. These things made me suspend my opinion, and to judge that these were monuments or trophies of some famous deeds, placed, as it were, at the fag end of the world, that they might be preserved from the injury and fury of enemies. But whether these were trophies, or (as some think) sepulchres of famous men; I believe they were monuments consecrated to be perpetuated to posterity, but built by rude and unskilful workmen, after the similitude of the chapel erected at Carron. On the right side of Carron, the ground is generally plain and level, only there is a little hill in it, almost in the mid space, between the *Duni pacis* and the chapel; and just there, at the bending of the angle, some remains of an ancient city appear to this very day. But the foundation of the walls, and the description of the streets, partly by reason of countrymen's plowing up the ground, and partly by plucking out the square stones to build some rich men's houses thereabouts, are quite blended and confused. English Bede expressly calls this place Guidi, and places it in the very angle of the wall of Severus. Besides him, many famous Roman writers make mention of this wall; yea, several footsteps thereof do yet appear, and many stones are dug out, with inscriptions containing either a gratulation of safety and victory received by the centurions and tribunes of the Romans, or else some funeral epitaphs engraven therein. And seeing the wall of Severus is seldom less distant than 100 miles from Adrian's, the older of the two, (as the remains of both do shew,) English writers betray their great ignorance, either in not understanding the Latins, who have delivered these things down to us; or else their carelessness who have translated that so confusedly, which is so plain in the original. However it be, the thing is worthy, if not of a sharp reprehension, yet of a light admonition at least; especially, since by the monuments lately spoken of, and by Bede's English history too, it plainly appears, that once the boundary betwixt the Britons and the Scots was there. Those who fancy Maldon to be situate here, are the same men who affirm that the chapel, or structure we spoke of, was the temple of Claudius Cæsar; but they are greatly mistaken in both, seeing Maldon, a colony of the Romans, is above 300 miles distant from that place, if we may believe Ptolemy, and the journal of Antoninus. Cornelius Tacitus doth plainly confute this their mistake, as in all his other narrations, so especially when he says that the Romans, having lost Maldon, fled to the temple of Claudius Cæsar for safety. But that structure, whether it were a chapel or temple of Terminus, or else a monument of some other thing, having no doors, nor sign of any, and being open also at top, from the casting in of stones, can scarce contain, much less shelter, ten soldiers. Moreover, about forty years after the expedition of Claudius Cæsar into Britain, Julius Agricola was the first of the Roman generals who penetrated with

his army into those parts: besides, Adrian also, fifty years after Agricola, settled the bounds of the Roman province, between the rivers Tyne and Esk, by making a wall, of which divers footsteps in many places do yet remain. But Septimius Severus, about the year of our Lord 210, entering into Britain, built a wall 100 miles beyond the limits made by Adrian, from the frith of Clyde to the conflux of Forth and Avon, of which many clear and evident tokens do remain. Besides, we never read in ancient writings, that the chief seat of the Picts was at Maldon, but at Abernethy; there was their royal, and also episcopal, seat, which was afterwards translated to St. Andrew's. And if it be demanded, what moved the Romans to draw a colony thither, and how they maintained it in a soil so barren, and (at that time) woody, uncultivated, and obnoxious to the daily injuries of the fiercest of their enemies; I suppose, they will answer, (for I see not what else they can say), that it was supplied from the sea, for then ships came up to the very gates of the city; though against the stream of Carron water. If that were true, then the grounds lying on both sides the Forth must needs be overwhelmed with the inundations of the ocean, and must therefore be barren, which alone, in that tract, ought to have borne corn. But this is yet a more difficult question; that seeing the sea water did run on both sides the Forth, why the Romans did not there make their boundary wall, rather than unnecessarily carry it many miles farther?

Beyond the county of Stirling lies Lennox, divided from the barony of Renfrew by Clyde, and from the county of Lanark by the river Kelvin; from the county of Stirling by mountains, and from the stewartry of Monteath by the Forth; at length it is terminated in the mountain Grampius, or Grantsbain, at the foot of which, through an hollow valley, Loch Lomond spreads itself, which is twenty-four miles long, and eight broad; it contains above twenty-four islands; besides a multitude of other fishes, it hath some of a peculiar kind, very pleasant to eat, they call them pollacks. At length, breaking out towards the south, it pours out the river Leven, giving name to the whole country, and near the castle of Dumbarton, and a town of the same name, falls into Clyde. The farthest hills of mount Grampius, do heighten the extreme parts of Lennox, being divided by a small bay of the sea, called Loch Gare, from its shortness. Beyond that, there is a bay much larger, called Loch Long, from the river Long, falling into it; that is the boundary between Lennox and Cowal. Cowal itself, Argyle, and Knapdale are divided into many parts, by reason of several narrow bays of the sea running down into them, from the frith of Clyde: there is one bay, or loch, more eminent than the rest, among them called Loch Fine, obtaining its name from the river Fine, which it receives into it; it is above sixty miles in length. There is also in Knapdale a loch called Loch Awe, in which there is a small island, and a castle that is fortified. The river Awe, or Owe, issues out from that loch, which is the only

river in that country, that empties itself into the Deucalionian sea.

Beyond Knapdale, to the south-west, there runs out Kintyre, *i. e.* the head of the country; it stands over against Ireland, from which it is divided but by a narrow sea: it is not so broad as it is long; and it is joined to Knapdale by so narrow an isthmus, or neck of land, that it is scarce a mile over: and that space too is nothing but sand, so plain and level, that sometimes seamen, to make their voyages shorter, do hale their small vessels, called birlings, over it, from one side of Loch 'Tarbet to the other.

Lorn touches Knapdale, it borders immediately on Argyle, and reaches as far as the country of Aber, commonly called Lochaber: it is a plain country, and not unfruitful; where the mountain Grampius is lowest, and more passable, that country is called Breadalbane, which is as much as to say, the highest part of Scotland; and where the loftiest peak, or top of all is, that is called Drumalbane, *i. e.* the back of Scotland, and not without cause; for from that back, there run down rivers into both seas, some into the north or German, others into the south or Deucalionian sea. For from Loch Earn it pours out the river Earn, towards the south-east, which falls into the river Tay, about three miles below Perth. From this river, the country called in Highland, or old Scots language, Strathearn, takes its name, being situate on both sides of its banks. For the Highlanders use to call a country, lying at the fall of rivers, Strat. Between the mountains of this country and the Forth, lies the stewartry of Monteath, taking its name from the river Teath which runs through the middle of it. Next to Monteath stand the mountains called Ochil hills, a great part of which, as also of the country lying at the foot of them, is reckoned within the stewartry of Strathearn; but the rest of the country, even into the Forth, man's ambition hath divided into several stewartries, as the stewartry of Clackmannan, of Culross, and of Kinross. From these stewartries and the Ochil hills, all the country lying between the Forth and the Tay, grows narrow like a wedge, eastward even to the sea; and it is all called by one name, Fife, a country self-sufficient with all necessaries for the use of life: it is broadest where Loch Leven, and the river Leven running through it, do divide it; and from thence it narrows on each side, till you come to the town of Crail; it affords but one remarkable river, and that is called Leven. Its whole shore is stored with abundance of towns, of which the most remarkable for the study of the arts is St. Andrew's, which the Highlanders call *Fannum Regulæ*: more to the inland, almost in the middle of the country, lies Cowper, the shire or assize town, whither the rest of the inhabitants of Fife come for the administration of justice. Where it touches Strathearn stands the town of Abernethy, the ancient royal seat of the Picts. Here the river Earn falls into the Tay.

As for the Tay itself, that breaks out from Loch Tay, which is in Breadalbane, (a loch twenty-four miles long); it is without question the greatest river in Scotland; for winding about towards the

Grampian hills, it touches upon Athol a fruitful country, situate in the very woody passages of mount Grampius. That part of it which is extended into a plain, at the foot of the mountain, is called *The Blair of Athol*, which word signifies a soil bare of trees.

Below Athol, on the right side of the river Tay, stands the town of Caledonia, which yet retains its ancient name, though vulgarly called Dunkelden, *i. e.* an hill full of hasel-trees. For those trees, growing thick in such unmanured places, and shadowing the country, like a wood, gave name both to the town, and also to the people thereabouts. For the Caledons, or Caledonians, heretofore one of the most famous nations amongst the Britons, made up one part of the kingdom of the Picts, as we may be informed by Ammianus Marcellinus, who divides the Picts into two tribes, *i. e.* the Caledones and the Vecturiones, though at this day there is hardly any token left of either of these two names.

Twelve miles below Dunkeld, on the same right-hand bank of the Tay, stands Perth, otherwise called St. Johnston. And on the left bank of the Tay, below Athol, towards the east, stands Gowry, a country abounding with rich corn fields.

Below Gowry, between the Tay and the Esk, is extended Angus, or, as the Highlanders call it, *Æneia*; some call it Horestia, or, according to the English dialect, Forestia. In it there are these two towns, Cowper, and that which Boetius, to gratify his countrymen, ambitiously calls Deidonum; but, I think the old name thereof was Toadunum, *i. e.* Dundee, from Dune, *i. e.* an hill situated by the river Tay; for at the foot of that hill the town is built.

Fourteen miles beyond the Tay, in a direct line along the shore, we meet with the town of Aberbrothoc, sometimes called Abrinca. Then follows the promontory, called Red-head, which shews itself at a good distance. The river South Esk runs through the middle of Angus; and the North Esk divides it from the Mearns. The Mearns is, for the most part, a plain and level country, till it toucheth mount Grampius, beyond the little town of Fordun, and Dunotter, a castle belonging to the earls of Marshall: Then it grows lower and lower, declining towards the sea. Beyond Mearns, towards the north, is the river Dee, commonly called Deemouth; and about a mile beyond it is the river Don. Upon the one, there stands Aberdone, a town famous for salmon fishing; and upon the other, stands Aberdee, (for so it is called in old records), where the bishop's see is, and also a flourishing university: but now both towns are distinguished only by the names of Old and New Aberdeen.

From this narrow front, between those two rivers, begins Marr, which growing wider and wider by degrees, extends itself sixty miles in length, even unto Badenoch. Badenoch is all full of hills and mountains, which sends forth rivers into both seas.

Aber borders upon Badenoch, it declines gently towards the Deucaledonian sea; a country (for a Scottish one) very much a-

bounding with all land and sea commodities: as it is fruitful in corn and pasturage, so it is also very pleasant by reason of its shadowy groves, and the delightful fountains, brooks and rivulets, which glide along through it. As for the multitude of fish, hardly any country in Scotland can compare with it: for, besides the plenty of fresh water fish, which, so many rivers afford, the sea also contributes its dole of salt water ones; piercing, in a long channel, through the level part of the country, and there being somewhat curbed and pent in by the high boundary of the land, for some space, at length it diffuses and spreads itself abroad again, representing the form of a mear, or rather loch; hence it is called Aber, *i. e.* in our country language, *a road for ships*: they give also the same name to the country thereabouts; those that affect to speak after the English mode, call both, *i. e.* that bay of the sea and the country too, Lochaber; but in that they mistake, and talk without grounds. These three countries, Aber, Badenoch, and Marr, do take up all the breadth of Scotland between the two seas, the Deucaledonian and the German.

On the north, next to Marr, stands Buchan, divided from it by the river Don; it stretcheth out itself farthest of any county in Scotland, into the German sea. It is rich in pasture, and in a good breed of sheep; and is able to maintain itself with all conveniencies for the support of life. The rivers in it abound with salmon; and yet (which is strange) there is one of its rivers, called Ratra, that hath not a salmon in it. On the shore of Ratra, there is a strange kind of cave, and I cannot omit describing the nature of it: The water in it drops down from a natural vault or arch, and is turned into pyramids of stone; so that if men were not constantly cleaning it, the whole space, to the very roof, would be petrified, and filled up as one continued solid. The stone thus concreted is of a middle nature between stone and ice; for it is friable, and never arrives at the hardness and solidity of marble. When I was at Toulouse, about the year of our Lord 1544, I was informed by credible persons, that there was a cave in the neighbouring Pyrenæan hills, altogether like this in Scotland.

Beyond Buchan to the north, lie two small counties, Bion and Ainy, which reach to the river Spey, that separates them from Murray. As for the river Spey, that hath its rise in the ridge of hills in Badenoch, of which I have made mention before, and not far from the fountain thereof is a loch, which sends forth a river called Lochtee, which rolls itself into the west sea. At the mouth of it there was once (as they say) a noble town called inner Lochtee, borrowing its name from the loch aforesaid. The truth is, if you consider the nature of the neighbouring soil, and the conveniency of transporting and carriage by sea, it is a place very fit for a mart town: And our ancient kings, tempted and invited by those conveniencies, made their abode there for some ages in the castle of Evonia, which some falsely persuade themselves to be

Dunstaffnage; for the rubbish and ruins of that castle are yet to be seen in Lorn. There are some small counties lying betwixt Buchan and the west sea, but having scarce any thing remarkable in them, I shall not waste time to describe them.

Beyond the Spey, even unto the river Ness, there follows Murray, heretofore (as it is thought) called Varar. Between those two rivers, the Spey and the Ness, the German ocean doth, as it were, drive the land backward to the west, and so, with a vast bay, abridges the largeness of it. This whole country throughout abounds with corn and pasturage; but, as for pleasantness, and the profit arising from fruit trees, it excels all the other countries in Scotland. It hath two eminent towns in it, Elgin and Inverness. Elgin stands on the river Lossie, and as yet retains its ancient name. Inverness is situate by the river Ness, which issues out of Loch Ness, a loch twenty-four miles long; the water in it is almost always warm, and all the year long it is never so cold as to freeze; nay, in the sharpest winter that is, if flakes of ice are put into it, they will quickly be thawed by the warmth of its waters.

Beyond Loch Ness, towards the west, there are only eight miles of continent interjacent; so small a portion of ground hinders the conjunction of the two seas, and consequently the making of the rest of Scotland an island; for all that space of land which lies betwixt that narrow neck, and the Deucalionian sea, is cut off from the rest by several bays of the sea breaking into it.

That part of the country, which lies beyond Loch Ness, and those narrow streights, or neck of land, before mentioned, is wont to be divided into four provinces or shires, viz. Ross, Strathnaver, Sutherland, and Caithness. [*Navern, or, as commonly called, Strathnaver, taking its name from the river Navern.] Beyond the mouth of Ness, where it disembogues itself into the German sea, lies Ross, which runs out into the sea with very high promontories, as the name itself shews; for Ross, in the Scottish dialect, signifies a promontory. This province hath more of length than breadth in it, for it reaches from the German, quite home to the Caledonian sea: Where it is mountainous, it is barren and untilld; but the plains scarce yield to any part of Scotland for fruitfulness. It hath also many pleasant valleys in it, which are watered with rivers, full of fish, together with several lochs, well stored with fish. But the greatest of them all is Loch Loubrun. From the Deucalionian sea the shore grows somewhat narrower, and turns backward towards the north-east: from the opposite shore, the German sea, making its way between the clefts of high rocks within land, expands itself into a spacious bay, which affords a safe harbour, and road for ships, against all storms; for the passage into it is not difficult, and when you are once entered, even the greatest fleets that are, may be secure from all injury of wind and weather.

* This clause, betwixt the two crotchets, seems to have been inserted *here* by the scribe of the transcriber; for the whole of it is mentioned by and by, in its proper place.

At the farthest point of Ross, towards the north, lies Naveru, so called from the river Naveru, which the vulgar, following the propriety of their country speech, call Strathnaver. Ross bounds it on the south, the Deucalionian sea washeth it west and north, and on the east it reaches to Caithness.

Sutherland is so situated between the three last mentioned provinces, that it borders on them all, and, in some quarter or other, touches them all; for on the west of it lies Strathnaver, on the south and east Ross, and on the north Caithness. The inhabitants there, according to the nature of the soil, are more given to pasturage than tillage. I know no remarkable thing in it, save only that it hath some mountains of white marble, (a rare miracle in so cold a country,) which yet is of little or no use to the inhabitants, because that luxuriant humour, which covets it, hath not yet reached to this place.

Caithness is the last province of Scotland towards the north, in which coast Strathnaver also comes up with it. These two countries do contract the breadth of Scotland into a narrow front. In that front there are three high promontories; the highest of them all is in Strathnaver, which Ptolemy calls Orca, or Tarvedrum, now Farrowhead; the other two are in Caithness, but not so high as the former, *i. e.* Vervedrum, now called Hoia, *i. e.* Strathyhead; and Betubium (Dunsbeyhead) falsely called by Hector Boetius, Dume; some call it Duncans-Bei, from which word some letters being subtracted, the word Duns-Bei seems to be derived. At the foot of the hill there is a small bay, which little vessels, coming from the Orcades, use as an haven or port. For a bay of the sea is there called Bei; and this creek, or bay, being called by the neighbouring inhabitants the Bei of Duncan, or Donach; from both those words conjoined, the country language hath formed Dunis Bei.

In this track, Ptolemy places the Cornavii, or Caithnessmen, some similitude of which name does yet remain, for they commonly call the castle of the earls of Caithness, Gernico; for those whom Ptolemy, and other foreigners call Cornavii, the Britons call Kernici. And seeing he places the Cornavii, not in this track only, but even in a far distant part of the island, viz. Cornwall in England; they who retain the old British speech, do yet call the same persons Kernici; and, perhaps, it is no absurd conjecture to imagine that the Cornovalli are so called for Kernicovalli, *i. e.* the Kernic Gauls; nay, in the very midst of the island, some marks, though obscure ones, of that name seem to have remained. For Bede writes, that the beginning of the wall of Severus was not far from the monastery of Kobercurnig, whereas there is now no sign of a monastery in those parts; but there remains not far from thence, the half-ruined castle of the Douglasses, called Abercorn; whether both of those words, or only one of them, be corrupted from Kernicus, I leave to the reader to judge.

It remains now, that I speak something concerning the islands of

Scotland, which part of the British history is perplexed with abundance of mistakes. But omitting the ancients, who have delivered nothing certain on this subject, I shall only insist on what the writers of our times have more truly and plainly acquainted us with. Of all the islands which do, as it were, begirt Scotland, they make three classes or ranks, the Western, the Orcades, and the Zetlandish, or Shetland islands.

Those are called the Western Isles which lie between Scotland and Ireland on the west of Scotland, in the Deucealedonian sea, and reach almost to the isles of Orkney, or Orcades. They who have written of the British affairs, either now, or in the age before us, call them Hebrides, a new name, of which there is not any sign, or any original, in ancient writers. For, in that tract of the sea, some authors place the *Æbudæ*, or *Æmodæ*, but with such inconsistency amongst themselves, that they scarce ever agree in their number, situation, or names. Strabo (to begin with the most ancient) may be the better excused, because he followed uncertain report, that part of the world being not fully discovered in his time. Mela reckons the *Æmodæ* to be seven; Martianus Capella makes the *Acmodæ* to be as many; Ptolemy and Solinus count the *Æbudæ* five; Pliny numbers the *Acniodæ* to be seven, and the *Æbudæ* thirty. I, for my part, think it fit to retain the names most used by the ancients, and therefore I call all the western isles *Æbudæ*; and I purpose to describe the site, nature and commodities of every one of them, as out of later, so out of surer, authors.

In performing this task, I will principally follow Donald Monro, a pious and diligent person, who travelled in person over all those islands, and viewed them exactly. They lie dispersed in the Deucealedonian sea, being above three hundred in number. The kings of Scotland were masters of them, time out of mind, until Donald, the brother of Malcolm III. yielded up the possession of them to the kings of Norway, that, by his aid, he might forcibly seize upon the crown of Scotland, to which he had no right. The Danes and Norwegians enjoyed them about one hundred and sixty years, until, being overcome in a great battle, they were taken from them by Alexander III. king of Scotland. These islanders, either confiding in their strength, or else urged on, and induced by sedition, have sometimes endeavoured to assert their liberty, and to set up kings of their own; for of late John, of the family of the Donalds, as well as others before him, usurped the name of king. In their diet, habit, and the whole administration of their domestic affairs, they use the ancient parsimony. Hunting and fishing afford them food. They boil their flesh in water poured either into the paunch, or into the skin of the beast they kill; and in hunting they sometimes eat raw flesh when the blood is squeezed out. The broth of boiled flesh-meat is their drink. They sometimes drink whey very greedily in their feasts, after it hath been kept in proper vessels for some years. That kind of drink they call *Bladium*,

but the most part of them drink water. They make their bread of oats and barley, (for they have no other grain growing in those parts,) which is not unpleasant to the taste; and, by frequent use, they are very expert at making and moulding of it. In the morning they eat a little of it, and so go a hunting; or, if they have any other work to do, they are content with that light breakfast, and fast till the evening. They use party-coloured garments, and especially striped plaids. Of all colours, they love the purple and the blue most. Their ancestors wore party-coloured plaids, variously striped, which custom some of them do still retain; but now many of them wear their apparel of a dark brown colour, almost like heath, that so, lying in the heath bushes, they may not, in the day-time, be discovered by their clothes. Being rather loosely wrapped, than closely covered, with this sort of blanketing, they endure the fiercest weather, even in the open air; and sometimes they sleep in them, though covered all over with snow. In their houses they also lie on the ground, only they lay under them fern or heath, which they place with their roots downward, and their brush upwards, so prettily, that their beds are almost as soft as a feather bed, but far more wholesome. For heath being naturally of a drying nature, doth exhaust superfluous humours, and restores vigour to the nerves, after it hath freed them from such noxious moisture; so that they who lie down in the evening weary and faint, in the morning rise up nimble and sprightly. They are all of them very regardless of their bed-ticks and coverlets, nay, they affect an uncouth slovenliness in that particular; for, if any occasion, or necessity, cause them to travel into other parts, when they go to bed, they throw the bed and blankets of their hosts on the ground, and wrap themselves up in their own garments, and so go to sleep. The reason they give is, lest such barbarous effeminacy (for so they call it) should taint and corrupt their native and inbred hardiness. In war, they cover their bodies with iron helmets and a coat of mail made of iron rings, reaching almost down to their ancles. Their weapons are bows, and arrows for the most part hooked, the iron barbs standing out on both sides, which cannot be drawn out of the body they pierce, unless the orifice of the wound be made very wide; some of them fight with broad swords and pole-axes. Instead of a trumpet, they use a bagpipe. They are much given to music, but on instruments of a peculiar kind, called clarsacks; of which some have strings made of brass wire, others of guts, which they strike either with their long nails, or with a quill. Their only ambition is to deck their fiddles with very much silver and jewels. The meaner sort, instead of jewels, use crystal. They sing songs, not inelegant, containing commonly the eulogies of valiant men; and their bards usually treat of no other argument. They use something, though but little, of the old Gaulish language.

These islands of Scotland, which use the ancient tongue, and

are called the Western or *Æbudæ* Isles, are usually reckoned thus: The first of them is Man, by some falsely called Mona, but by the ancients Eubonia; Paulus Orosius calls it Mevania, or rather Menavia; for in the old language it is called Manim. The last age called the town Sodora, in which the bishop had his see. It is a province almost equally distant from Ireland, from Galloway in Scotland, and from Cumberland in England; it is twenty-four miles long, and eight broad.

The next isle arising in the frith of Clyde is Alsa, or Ailsa, a high and precipitous rock, excepting only one plain passage into it. It is uninhabited almost all the year; but only at certain seasons, a great number of skiffs and busses flock thither to fish for cod and whiting. It abounds with conies and sea fowl, but especially with solan geese. It is almost equally distant from Carrick on the south-east, from Ireland on the south-west, and from Cantyre on the north-west. The isle of Arran is situate twenty-four miles from Ailsa, inclining towards the north, it is twenty-four miles long and sixteen broad; it is full of high craggy mountains, so that only its sea coasts are inhabited; where it is lowest, the sea breaks into it, and makes a considerable bay, the entrance of which is covered by the island Molas, *i. e.* Lamlach or Lamlash; so that, by reason of the height of the mountains, which break the force of the wind, it is, within, a very safe harbour for shipping; and there is such plentiful fishing in those waters, which are perpetually calm, that, if the inhabitants catch more than what will serve them for one day, they throw them again into the sea, as into a safe trunk or fish-pond, to be thence taken out at their pleasure.

Not far from Arran lies a small island called Flada or Fladda, which is full of rabbits. Bute isle, being eight miles long, and four broad, is situate more within the frith of Clyde, and is eight miles distant from Arran aforesaid, on the north-east. On the north-west it is distant from Argyle about half a mile; on the east, from Cunningham, six miles. It is all, in a manner, low land, and so very convenient for corn and pasturage. It hath but one town in it, bearing the name of the island; and in it an old castle named Rothsay. It hath also another castle at the bay, called in the country language Cames, or Kames castle. On the south-west of it is the low island Mernoeh. It is fruitful enough, and well cultivated for a place of its extent; it is a mile long, and half a mile broad. Farther still within the frith of Clyde, are the two Cumbraes, the greater and the less, at a small distance one from another; the greater abounding with corn, the less with fallow deer.

From the promontory of Cantyre, a little more than a mile, lies Avona, now Sanda, called Portuosa, *i. e.* fit for a port; it got that name from being a road for ships; for when the Danes possessed those islands, their fleets went thither for shelter. From the same promontory to the south-west, over against the Irish shore, stands Rahglin; as also four miles from Cantyre, is a small island called

Cara; and not far from thence Gigha, six miles long, and a mile and a half broad.

The island of Jura is distant twelve miles from Gigha, being in length twenty-four miles; its maritime parts are inhabited well enough, but being woody in the inland parts, it abounds with several sorts of deer. Some think it was anciently called Dera, which in the Gothic language signifies a stag. Two miles distant from Jura lies Scarba, in length from east to west four miles, in breadth one; it is inhabited but in few places. The tide is so violent between it and Jura, that there is no passage neither with sails nor oars, but at certain seasons only.

After this there are many islands of less note spread up and down, as Bellach or Genistaria, Gewrasdil, Lunga, both the Fiolas or Fiolass's; also the three Garvillans, distinguished by respective surnames; then Culbrenin, Dunconnel, Luparia, Belhac, Whoker, Gavin, Luing, Seil and Suin; these three last named are fruitful enough in corn and cattle, and are under the jurisdiction of the earls of Argyle. The next to these is Slata, or Sleach; so called because tiles, named slates, are hewn out of a rock, which it contains. Then follow Naosg, Easdale, Schanni, and the isle called Tyan, from an herb which is prejudicial to fruits, not unlike guild or loose-strife, but that it is of a more dilute colour; and Uridich and the Rye island. Then Dow, *i. e.* the black island; and the island Eglis, or of the church, and Triarach; after these follow the islands Ard or High, Ishol, Green, Heath, as also Tree, Goat, Coney isles, and that which is called the island of the Otiosi and Eris-bach; as also Lismore, in which was the formerly bishop of Argyle's see; it is eight miles in length, two in breadth; in it there are found metals, besides the commodities common to other isles. Then succeed Ovilis, and Siuna, Ilan na port, and Geirach; as also Falda, the isle of Cloich, Gramry; the islands More, Ardiescara, Musadil, and Bernera heretofore called the holy sanctuary, the noble Yew isle, Molochasgar and Drinacha, which is all covered over with thorns, elders, and the ruins of great houses; then another isle called Drimach, which is full of wood; also Ramsay and Kerrera.

The greatest of the western islands next to Jura, is Isla; which is twenty four miles long, and sixteen broad: it is extended from south to north; and is very fruitful in cattle, corn, deer, and lead: there is a river of fresh water in it, called Avonlaggan, as also a bay of salt water, in which are several islands; besides it hath a loch of fresh water, in which there is an island called Finlagan, which heretofore was the chief of all the islands, in which the prince of the islanders, assuming the name of king, was wont to dwell. Near to that, but less, is the island called Ilan na Covihaslop, called also the island of council; for there was a court in it, where fourteen of the chief men sat daily for the administration of justice, and determining matters of controversy; whose great equity and moderation procured peace, both foreign and domestic; and as a concomitant of

peace, the affluence of all things. Between Isla and Jura there is seated a small island called Rock isle, taking its name from a heap of stones there; moreover on the south side of Isla lie these islands, Chourina, Maalmori, Osrin, Bridi, Corshera, the island Ishol, Immersi, Bethick, Texa, Gearach, Naosg, Rinard, Cana, Tarskeir, Achnar, the isle More, the island resembling the figure of a man, the island Jean, and the Stachabadda; at the west corner of Isla stands Oversa, there also the sea is very raging, not passable for ships but at certain hours. The island Channard, and toward the north-west are situate Usabrest, and Tanast, Naomph, and the island Banni; eight miles from Isla, more toward the north, lies Oversa, next to it Porcaria, and half a mile from Oversa lies Collonsa.

Beyond Collonsa to the north lies Mull, twelve miles distant from Isla. This island is twenty-four miles in length, and as many in breadth; it is craggy, yet not wholly barren of corn. It hath many woods in it, and great herds of deer, and a port safe enough for ships; over against Icolmkill, it hath two large rivers full of salmon, besides other less rivers not without fish; it hath also two lochs, in each of which are several islands, and castles in them all. The sea, breaking into it in divers places, makes four bays, all abounding with herrings. On the south-west is seated Calaman, or the island of doves; on the north-east stands Erra; both these islands are commodious for cattle, corn, and fishing.

The island of Icolmkill is distant from them two miles; it is two miles long, and above a mile broad, fruitful in all things which that climate can produce; and famed for as many ancient monuments, as could be well expected in such a country; but it was made yet more famous by the severe discipline and holiness of St. Columbus. It was beautified with two monasteries, one of monks, the other of nuns; with one curia, (or as they call it), a parish church, and with many chapels, some of them built by the magnificence of the kings of Scotland; and others by the petty kings of the islands; in the old monastery of St. Columbus, the bishops of the islanders placed their see; their ancient mansion-house, which was before in the isle of Man, being taken by the English. There remains as yet, among the ancient ruins, a church-yard, or burying-place, common to all the noble families that dwelt in the western islands. There are three tombs in it more eminent than the rest, at a small distance one from another, having little shrines looking towards the east, built over them. In the west part of each of them there is a stone with an inscription, declaring whose tombs they are; the middlemost of them hath this inscription; *The tombs of the kings of Scotland*; for it is reported, that forty-eight of the Scottish kings were buried there; in that on the right hand, there is this title carved, *The tombs of the kings of Ireland*; for four kings of Ireland are said to be interred there: that on the left side is inscribed, *The tombs of the kings of Norway*; for report says, that eight kings of that nation were intombed there. In the rest of the cemetery, the eminent families of the

islands have each their tombs apart. There are six islands adjacent to it, small indeed, yet not unfruitful, which have been given by ancient kings, and by the princes of the islanders, to the nunnery of St. Columbus.

The island Soa, though it hath convenient pasturage for sheep, yet its greatest revenue is from the sitting and hatching of sea fowl, and especially from their eggs. The next to that is Nuns island: then Rudana; after that Reringa; after which follows Skanny, distant half a mile from Mull; it hath one parish in it, but the parishioners live mostly in Mull: the shore abounds with conies. A mile from Skanny stands Eorsa. All these are under the jurisdiction of the monks of St. Columbus' monastery.

Two miles from Eorsa stands Ulva, which is five miles long, and for its extent, fruitful in corn and pasturage. It hath an haven very commodious for galleys, long-boats, or berlins. On its south side lies Colvansa, the soil thereof is fruitful, and it hath a wood of hasel in it. Almost three hundred paces from it, is situate Gomedra, two miles long, and a mile broad, running out from south to north. Four miles from Gomedra, on the south, stands Staffa, both of these two last named isles having many good havens in them. Four miles from hence, toward the north-west, are the two Carniburghs, the greater and the less, so fortified round about with the precipices of rocks, and a most rapid current besides, that, their natural strength being assisted by art, they are impregnable. A mile from these, is an island, whose soil is almost all black, as being cemented out of old rotten wood and moss mixt together. They dry the turf of it for fuel, and therefore it is called Turf island; for so they there call that sort of earth, which the English call moss. Then succeeds Lunga, two miles in length, and Baca about half its size.

From thence, toward the west, about six miles distance, stands Tirrifs, in length eight miles, in breadth three; of all these islands most abounding with all things necessary to maintain life, for there is plenty of cattle and corn; they also get much by fishing, and the breed of sea fowl. There is in it a lake or loch of fresh water, and an old castle, as also an haven, not unsafe for galleys and long-boats. Two miles from hence stands Gunn isle, and at an equal distance from Gunn, Coll, twelve miles long, two broad, a very fruitful isle. Not far from thence is Calfa, which is almost all covered with wood. After that, two islands follow, surnamed Green, the greater and the less. And as many lie, of the same surnames, over against the promontory of Mull. Not far from this lie two islands, surnamed Glassæ, *i. e.* sky blue, then Ardan Rider, *i. e.* the high island of the horseman; next Luparia, or the island of wolves; after this is the island More: from the island Coll, toward the south, there is extended from east to west, Rum, sixteen miles long, six broad; and, because it is inhabited but in few places, the sea fowl almost every where lay their eggs up

and down in the fields; so that, in the spring, one may take up as many of them as he pleases. In the high rocks of Rum, the solan geese, before spoken of, are taken in great abundance. Four miles from thence, to the south-east, is the island Naich, or of horses, and half a mile from thence is Muick, for its extent, abounding with all necessaries. Falcons build their nests there; and it hath also a port convenient enough for shipping. Not far from it are Cana and Egg isle, small, yet fruitful islands; the latter abounding with solan geese.

Then there is Soavretail, fitter for hunting than any other commodities of life. Thence from north to south is extended Sky, the greatest of all the islands about Scotland, as being in length forty-two miles, in breadth sometimes eight, sometimes twelve; in many places it is full of mountains, which abound with woods, and those woods are very full of pastures. The champaign is also fruitful of corn and cattle; and, besides other cattle, it is famous for a large breed of mares. It hath five great rivers in it, all very full of salmon; besides many less ones, not without salmon neither. The sea penetrating on every side into the land, makes many bays of salt water there; of which three are most eminent, besides thirteen others, all full of herrings. It hath also a loch of fresh water in it, and five castles. This island, in the old Scottish dialect, was called Skianacha, *i. e.* winged, because the promontories, between which the sea made its influx, stretched out themselves as so many wings; but it is now by use come to be called Sky, *i. e.* a wing.

About Sky there lie scattered some smaller islands, as Oransa, full of corn and cattle; and Na gunner having plenty of woods and conies; as also Paba, infamous for robberies, where thieves, lurking in the woods, way-lay travellers as they pass. Then comes Scalpa, situated eight miles from it to the north-west; besides other commodities, it hath great herds of deer in its woods. Between the mouth of Loch Carron and Raarsa, lies Crouling, a port safe for ships. And from Scalpa, two miles towards the north, lies Raarsa, seven miles long, and two broad; it hath woods of beech-trees in it, and many deer in them. Half a mile from it is Rona, which is quite covered over with woods and heath. It hath a port in its inmost bay, noted for piracy, as being very commodious for surprising sea passengers. And in the mouth of the bay, (which, from its shallowness, is called Gerloch,) there is an island of the same name. From Rona, six miles towards the north, lies Fladda. Two miles from Fladda is Tronta, and on the south side of Sky, Oransa. A mile from thence lie little Buiia, then great Buiia; and after them five small islands of no note; after them follows Ishol, fruitful in corn; and near it is Ovia, then Askerma, and Linadel: and eighty miles from Sky, to the north-west, lie Linga, Gigamina, Bernera, Megala, Paba, Flada, Scarpa, Vervecum, *i. e.* of wedders, Sandrera, and Watersa, which, besides other great

conveniencies, hath a haven capable of holding many, and those very great, ships; whither at certain seasons of the year, a great company of fishermen flock together, from the countries round about. These nine last islands are under the government of the bishop of the islands. Two miles distant from Watersa, lies Barra, seven miles in length, extending itself from the south-west to the north-east, not unfruitful in corn, but most noted for cod and whiting fishery: a bay of the sea makes an influx into it, at a narrow mouth; but within it is broader and also round. It hath one island in it, and therein a strong fort or castle. In the north part of Barra, there ariseth an hill full of grass from top to bottom; on the top of it riseth a spring of fresh water, which flowing down in a rivulet, carries with it into the neighbouring sea some small animals, as yet shapeless; which in some sort, though not very plainly, represent those shell fish we commonly call cockles. This part of the shore, to which the borderers retire, they call the great Sanda; because when the sea ebbs, the sand is uncovered for a mile and more; there they dig up great shell fish, which the people thereabout believe to be bred out of the seminary of those shapeless fish, which the forenamed rill carries down from its fountain; and that they are either produced there, or at least grow bigger in the sea.

Between Barra and Uist lie these small islands following: Orban-sa, Ovia, or Eoy, Hakerset, Garulinga, Flada, Buia the greater, and Buia the less, Haia, Heldisay, Gega, Linga, Fara, Fuda, Heath island. From these, towards the north, lies Uist, thirty miles long, and six broad. The tide flowing into this island in two places, represents the appearance of three islands, but when it ebbs it again grows into one: there are many lakes of fresh water in it, the largest of which is three miles long. The sea, wearing away the land, hath made itself a passage into this loch; neither can it be excluded by the inhabitants, no not by a jettee or bank of sixty foot high, but that it insinuates itself between the stones, not well compacted together, and there often leaves some small sea fish behind. There is a fish taken in it, in other respects like a salmon, save that its belly is white, and its back black, but it is without scales like a salmon. Moreover, there are in it abundance of lochs of fresh water. It hath caves in it covered with heath, which are lurking places for robbers. There are five parish churches in it for the performance of holy duties.

Eight miles from thence, towards the east, lies Helscher Vetularum, so called, as I suppose, because it belongs to the nuns of the island of Icolmkill. A little farther towards the north, appears Havel-schyer, to which at certain seasons of the year many sea calves, or seals, do resort, and are there taken. About sixty miles beyond that to the north-west, stands Hirta, very fruitful in corn and cattle, especially in sheep, which are here fatter than in any other of the islands. The inhabitants are ignorant of all arts, and especially of religion. After the summer solstice, the lord of the island sends

thither his proctor or steward, to gather his rent or tribute; and, with him, he sends a priest to baptize all the children, which were born the year before; but if the priest come not, then every man baptizeth his own children; they pay to their lord a certain number of sea calves, and of muttons dried in the sun, and also of sea fowl. The whole island doth not exceed a mile in length, and it is almost of equal breadth; neither can any part of it be seen from any neighbouring island, except three mountains which are on the shore, and these cannot be discerned neither, but from the highest places of other islands. In those mountains there are sheep exceeding beautiful, but by reason of the violence and rapidity of the sea current and tide, they can scarce be come at by any body.

But to return to Uist; on the north promontory thereof there is situate the isle Valey, a mile broad and two miles long. Between that promontory and the isle Harris, these islands are interjacent, small indeed, but not unfruitful, viz. Soa, Stromoy, Pabay, Bernera, Erisay, Keligera, Saga the less, Saga the greater, Hermodra, Scarvay, Gria, Linga, Gillan, Hea, Hoy, Ferelais, Soa the great, Soa the less, Isa, Senna the great, Senna the less, Tarransa, Slegama, Tuema, and, above Harris, Scarpa; and due west there are seven islands, at fifty miles distance above Lewis, which some call Flavannæ, others the Sacred, or Sanctuary islands; they arise up into grassy mountains, but are quite uncultivated; neither are there in them any four-footed beasts, but only wild sheep, which the hunters catch, but chiefly for sake of the sport. They make tallow of their fat, which is the most that they yield: that little flesh which they have is so unpleasant, that no man will eat it, unless he is forced to it by extremity of hunger.

Furthermore, almost in the same tract, nearer to the north, lie Garvellan, *i. e.* the craggy island, Lamba, Flada, and Kellasa, the two Berneraes, the great and the small, Kirta, Buia the little, Buia the great, Vexa, Pabay, and Sigruma the great, or Cunicularia, so called from its plenty of conies, Sigruma the less, and the island of Pigmies; in this last there is a chapel, where the bordering people do believe that pigmies were heretofore buried; for many strangers, digging deep into the earth, have found, and yet do find, little and round heads, and the small bones of other parts of human bodies, that do not in the least differ from the ancient reports concerning pigmies.

In that shore of the island Lewis, which looks toward the south-east, two bays of the sea break into the land, one of which they call the south, the other the north loch; both of them yield abundance of fish, to those who take pains to catch them, and that during the whole year. From the same shore of Lewis, more to the south, stands Fable isle, then Adam's isle, then the isle of Lambs; as also Huilin, Viccoil, Havera, Laxa, Erin, the isle of Icolmkill, Toray, Iffert, Scalpa, Flada, and Shevy. At the east side of this island there is a subterraneous passage, arched at top, above a bow shot in length:

under which vault, small ships use to shelter themselves, making to it by sails or oars, to avoid the violence of the tide, which rages at the neighbouring promontory, with a huge noise, to the extreme terror and danger of the mariners. More to the east lies an island which they call Scham castle, a place naturally fortified, abounding with corn and fish, and also affording sufficient provision to the inhabitants by eggs of sea fowl, which there make their nests.

At the shore, where Loch Brien, or Broom, opens to the land, lies the isle Eu, which is almost all covered with woods, and good for nothing but to harbour thieves in, to rob passengers. More to the north is the island Gruinorta, being also full of woods, possessed by robbers and pirates. And looking towards the same coast, is an island, named the island of Cleirach, which, beside pasturage, abounds with the eggs of sea fowl. Next to that is Afulla, and then Harary the greater, then Harary the less; and nigh it the island of horses, or Nastich; and near that again, the isle Mertaika. These eight islands are situate before the mouth of the bay, which is vulgarly called Loch Broom, or Brien. At some distance from these islands, which lie before Loch Broom, Harris and Lewis run toward the north. They are sixty miles in length, and sixteen in breadth; these make but one island, for they are not distinguished by the arms of the sea, that flow into it, but by the meers of the land, and the possessions of their several lairds: but that part, which is exposed to the south, is wont to be called Harry. There was a monastery in it, called Roadilla, built by Macleod of Harry. The soil is fruitful of corn, but it yields its increase rather by digging than ploughing: its pastures are very fat for sheep, especially one very high mountain, which is green with grass, even to the very top. Donald Munro, a learned and pious man, relates, that when he was there, he saw sheep very old, (for that kind of cattle), wandering up and down without any certain owner: and the number of them is increased from hence, that neither fox, wolf, or serpent was ever seen there; though great woods lie betwixt this part and Lewis, which breed many stags, but low ones, and their bodies are of no large size. In this part of the island is a river very full of salmon. In the north part lies Lewis, well inhabited towards the shore. It hath four parish churches in it, one fort, seven great brooks, and twelve smaller, all of them, according to their size, full of salmon; in many places the sea penetrates into the land, and there diffuses itself into bays, all abounding with plenty of herrings. There is also great plenty of sheep, which wander freely amongst the thickets, and heath bushes: the inhabitants drive them into a narrow place, like a sheep fold, and there every year they shear them, after the ancient custom. The champaign part of the country abounds with heath bushes, among which the surface of the earth is black, occasioned by moss, that is matted as it were with rotten wood, gathered together for many ages, even a foot thick. This upper crust, being cut into long and slender turfs, and dried in the sun, serves for

firing, instead of wood: the next year after, the naked ground being dunged with sea weed, is sown with barley. In this island, there is commonly so great a quantity of whales taken, that sometimes, as the old inhabitants relate, twenty-seven, some greater, some smaller, fall to the share of the priests for their tithes. There is also a great cave in this island, in which, when the tide is out, the water is yet two fathom deep; but when the tide is in, it is above four fathom. There multitudes of people, of both sexes, and of all ages, sitting on the rocks, with hooks and lines, do promiscuously catch all sorts of fish in great abundance.

There is a small island, about sixty miles from Lewis, to the north-east, of a low and plain soil, and well inhabited; its name is Rona; the inhabitants thereof are rude persons, and without almost any religion at all. The laird of it assigns a certain number of families to inhabit and till it, and he allows them a sufficiency of great and small cattle, whereby they may live well, and pay their tribute too; that which is above their own provision, they send every year to Lewis, to their landlord, who lives there; they commonly pay him, in the name of a tribute or rent, a great quantity of barley-meal, sewed up in the skins of sheep, (for that kind of grain grows plentifully amongst them,) muttens and sea fowl dried in the sun, as much as remains, as a surplusage of their yearly provision; and, if the multitude of their people doth superabound, they send also the supernumerary persons to their landlords; so that these, in my judgment, are the only persons in the whole world who want nothing, but have all things to satiety. And besides, being ignorant of luxury and covetousness, they enjoy that innocency and tranquillity of mind which others take great pains to obtain, from the precepts and institutions of wise men. And this they have from their ignorance of vices; neither doth any thing seem to be wanting to their great happiness, but that they do not understand the excellency of their condition. There is in this island a chapel dedicated to St. Ronanus, where, as old men say, there is a spade always left, with which, if any one die, there is always found a place marked out and prepared for his grave; moreover, in this island, besides other fishery, many whales are also taken.

Sixteen miles from thence, towards the west, lies the island Suilkyr, a mile long, which brings forth no grass, no, not so much as heath, only it hath black rocks, some of which are covered with black moss. Sea fowl do commodiously lay their eggs, and hatch them there. Before the young are fledged enough to fly away, the neighbour islanders sail thither from Lewis, and they allow themselves eight days time, more or less, to cull or gather them up, until they load their skiffs with their flesh dried in the sun, and also with their feathers. In this island also, there is a rare kind of bird, unknown in other parts, called colca; it is little less than a goose; it comes every year thither in the spring, and there hatches and feeds its young till they can shift for themselves. About that time,

its feathers fall off of their own accord, and so leave it naked; then it betakes itself to the sea again, and is never seen more till the next spring. This also is singular in them, their feathers have no quills, or stalks, but cover their bodies with a gentle down, which has no hard nibs belonging to it.

Next follow the Orcades, lying scattered in the north of Scotland, partly in the Deucaledonian, and partly in the German seas. Concerning the name of them, writers, both ancient and modern, do well enough agree; but the reason of the name, no man, that I know, hath explained. Neither doth it appear who first possessed them: all say that they were of a German original, but from what nation of Germany they say not; if we may form a conjecture from their speech, both heretofore and now, they use the Gothic language. Some think they were Picts, induced by this argument, that the sea, dividing them from Caithness, is called the Pentland, or Pictland, sea, or frith. They judge also that the Picts themselves were of the race of the Saxons, grounding their opinion chiefly on the verses of Claudian, in his seventh panegyric, which run thus:

—————*Maduerunt Saxone fuso,
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule;
Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.*

*The Orcades were moist with Saxon gore;
Warm with the blood of Picts flow'd Thule's shore:
And whilst its head, each Scotchman's tomb appears,
Icy Juverna all dissolves in tears.*

But their error may easily be refuted, partly out of Bede, the Anglo-Saxon, who affirming that the Britons sung the praises of God in five several languages, reckons the Pictish to be one; but if the Picts had then spoke the Saxon language, he would not have distinguished it from the Saxon, (which then the English used, without corruption,) and partly also, out of those very verses of Claudian, where he expressly declares, that the Picts were a different people from the Saxons; for, he says, that the Orcades were the country of the Saxons, and Thule of the Picts; but whatsoever their original was, in this our age, they use a language different both from Scotch and English, but very near the Gothic. In their daily fare, the common people do as yet retain much of their ancient parsimony, and therefore they are very sound in mind, and healthy in body. Few of them die of diseases, but almost all of old age; and their ignorance of delights and pleasures contributes more to the maintaining of their health, than the skill and diligence of physicians doth to others. The same parsimony conduceth much, both to the elegancy of their beauty, and the tallness of their stature. They have but a small increase of corn, except only of oats and barley; out of which they extract both bread and drink. Of animals which herd together, they have sheep, kine, and divers goats, so that they have abundance of milk, butter, and cheese, among them: they have also an innumerable company of

sea fowl, of which, and of fishes, their diet doth, for the most part, consist. There is no venomous creature there, no, nor any of a deformed and odious appearance. They have small horses, in shew contemptible, but strong enough for all uses, even beyond belief. They have never a tree growing, no, nor shrub neither, besides heath, which happens, not so much from the fault of the soil, or air, as the laziness of the inhabitants, as doth easily appear by the roots of trees, which, in many places, are there digged out of the earth. As often as foreigners import any wine thither, they drink it greedily, even to excess. They have an ancient cup, or goblet, among them, which, (to procure the greater authority to their carousings,) they say, did belong to St. Magnus, who first instructed them in the principles of the Christian religion. It so far exceeds the size of other drinking bowls, that it may seem to have been a relic of the feast of the Lapithæ. They try an experiment with it upon their bishops, at their first coming to them; he that can drink up a whole one, at one draught, which seldom happens, they count him a very nonsuch of a man; and do look upon it as an happy omen and presage, that the crop of the following years will be superabundant. From which practice of theirs, a man may easily conjecture that their parsimony, which I spoke of, proceeds not so much from reason and choice, as from penury and want; and the same necessity which produced it at first, perpetuated and transmitted it to their posterity; till the neighbouring nations being corrupted by prevailing luxury, their ancient discipline was, by degrees, weakened and impaired, and they also gave themselves up to charming pleasures and delights; and being thus inclined to luxury, they were hurried on to it by their commerce with pirates; who, not daring to land on the continent, because it was full of inhabitants, took in fresh water at these islands, and there either changed their wine, and other merchandize, for the provisions of the country, or else sold them to the islanders at a low price; and the islanders being few in number, and unarmed too, and dispersed also in the tempestuous sea, that they could not convene to assist one another, being conscious of their own weakness, either did receive, or, at least, did not reject security, brought home to their doors, especially, it being mixed with gain and pleasure to boot, which are its usual companions. But this pollution of manners did mostly infect the great ones, and the priests. Among the vulgar, many tokens of their former moderation do yet remain. The sea is there very raging and tempestuous, which is caused, not only by the violence of winds, and the position of the heavenly constellations, but also by the meetings of contrary tides, raised up, and flowing in from the western ocean, and making such a conflict between the streights of the land, that the surges, occasioned thereby, sometimes meeting, opposite one to another, and being all impetuously whirled together, cannot be passed, neither by oars nor sails: if any mariners dare come too near, one of these three mischiefs befalls them. They are either driven back, with a forcible violence,

into the sea; or else by the rapidity of the foaming waves, they are dashed upon shelves and rocks: or lastly, are swallowed up by the rolling vortexes of the ingulphing waters. There are only two seasons, wherein these streights are passable; either when upon the falling back of the tides, the conflict of the waters ceasing, the sea is thereby calmed; or else when it comes, in a full channel, to the height of its increase at spring tides, that force languishing on both sides, which raised and made the waters tempestuous and stormy; the ocean, as it were, sounding a retreat to its storms, and thereupon the mountainous surges do retire (if I may so speak) into their own proper caverns and recesses.

Moreover, authors do not agree concerning the number of the Orcades; Pliny reckons them to be forty; others about thirty; but Paulus Orosius comes nearest the truth; he makes them thirty-three, of which thirteen are inhabited; the rest not, but left to feed cattle. For many of them are low, and so narrow in compass, that if they should be tilled, they would scarce maintain above one farmer or two. Some of them shew either bare rocks, or else are covered but with a rotten kind of black moss.

The largest isle of the Orcades, is called by many of the ancients Pomona; at this day they call it the Mainland, because it exceeds the rest so much in largeness, for it is thirty miles long; it is well inhabited, for it hath twelve parish churches, and one town besides; which the Danes, who were long masters of the Orcades, called Cracoviaca; we Scotsmen call it by a corrupt name, Kirk-wall. In this town there are two castles of an ordinary size, standing near together, one belonging to the king, the other to the bishop. And between them is a church, magnificent enough for those places; between the church and the castles there are several buildings on both sides, which the inhabitants call two cities, one the king's, the other the bishop's. The whole isle runs out into promontories, between which the bays of the sea making an influx, do afford safe anchoring for ships, and here and there a good port. In six several places of this island there are metals, *i. e.* white and black lead, so good that there are not better in all Britain. This island is about twenty-four miles distant from Caithness; the Pictish sea, called Pentland frith, running between them; of which we have spoken of before.

In that narrow sea there are many scattered islands, of which Stronsay, not unfruitful for the size of it, is distant from Caithness but a mile, but they do not reckon that amongst the Orcades, because of its propinquity to the British shore; and because the earls of Caithness have always been lords of it. Sailing from hence towards the north, we meet with South Ronalds, or Ronaldsay, the first of the Orcades, which is sixteen miles from Dungsby-head; skiffs and small ships pass over in two hours from it to this island, the tide being with them; though there be no wind, such is the violence of the current. This island is five miles in length, and it hath a convenient port, surnamed St. Margaret's Hope. A little

eastward of it are two small islands, uninhabited, and left for cattle to pasture in. They call them in their country speech, the Holmes, that is, grassy plains situate by water. To the north is the island Burray, and two Holmes between that and Mainland. From Burray towards the west, there lie three islands in order, Souna, Flata, and Fara; and beyond them, Hoy, and Valis or Waes-isle, which some make two, others but one island, because about both equinoxes (at which times the sea doth most tempestuously foam and rage) the tide falling back, and the lands being bared, they stick together, and are joined by a narrow neck of land, and so make one island; but upon the return of the tide, and the sea coming afresh between them, they again represent the form of two. In this island are the highest mountains of all the Orcades. Hoy and Waes isle are extended ten miles in length, and from Ronaldsay they are distant eight miles; from Duncansby or Dungisby, in Caithness, above twenty miles. On the north is the island Groem-say, situate in a very narrow arm of the sea: for Hoy is distant from the nearest promontory, which is that of Pomona, or Mainland, only two miles. These are the islands situate in the very streights, between Mainland and Caithness. The west side of Mainland looks to the open sea, no islands or rocks appearing there: from its east promontory it runs a little out into the sea; Coupinsay almost covers it on the north. Nearer the shore is Shapinsay, somewhat inclining to the east, situate over against Kirkwall, two miles distant, itself being six miles long. On the west part of Mainland lies Rowsay, six miles in length. From thence towards the east stands Eglisa, or Eglisay, where fame reports that St. Magnus was buried. From hence to the southward lie Wyeray and Gressay, and not far from thence Westeray, which is eighty miles distant from Shetland. Papay, and Stronsay, are also eighty miles distant from Shetland. Almost in the middle of the passage between them lies Fara, or Fair isle, which is conspicuous and visible both from the Orcades, and from Shetland too; for it rises into three very high promontories, surrounded with lofty rocks, every way inaccessible, save that towards the north east, it being a little lower, affords a harbour safe enough for small ships. The inhabitants thereof are very poor; for the fishermen, which sail that way every year, coming to fish from England, Holland, and other countries near the sea, do plunder and carry away what they please.

The next after this is the greatest of the Shetland islands, and therefore the inhabitants call it the Continent or Mainland; it is sixty miles in length, and in some places sixteen in breadth; it spreads itself into many small promontories; two of them I shall name, the one long, but narrow, running to the north; the other broader, running to the south-east. The maritime parts of it are, for the most part, inhabited; but to the inward parts no animal comes but fowl. Some few years since, the inhabitants endeavoured to form plantations, farther than their ancestors had done, but the success

did not answer. Their wealth is from the sea, for it lies convenient for fishing on every side.

Ten miles farther, towards the north, is Zell, or Yell, above twenty miles long, and eight broad; so uncouth a place, that no creature can live therein, except such as are born there. A merchant of Bremen is reported to dwell in this island, who doth import all sorts of foreign wares, which the inhabitants have need of, in great abundance. Between this island and Mainland lie these small islands Linga, Orna, Bigga, Sancterry. About nine miles beyond it, to the north, stands Uist, extended above twenty miles in length, and six in breadth. It is of a plain and level soil, neither is it any otherwise unsightly to the eye, but that it is surrounded with a very raging sea. Between this and Zell lies, Via, Vra, Linga; beyond it, towards the west, are the two Skerryys and Burray; on the east is Balta, Honnega, Fotlara, or Pheodoray, seven miles long, distant seven miles from Uist, and eight from Yell; it is over against the streights which divide Uist from Yell. Then many petty islands lie on the east side of the Mainland, as Mecla, the three Eastern Skerryys, Chualsa, or Whalsay, Nostvada, Brasa, and Musa; the west side is surrounded by the Western Skerryys, Rotti, Papay the less, Vemendru, Papay the greater, Vallu, Trons isle, Burray, Hara the greater, Hara the less, and amongst them lie intermingled almost as many Holmes, or plain islands, for pasturage only.

The Shetlanders live after the same manner as the islanders of the Orcades do, save that, as to their household provision they are a little more hardy. Their apparel is after the German fashion, which, according to their abilities, is not uncomely. Their incomes arise from a sort of coarse cloth, which they sell to the Norwegians; as also from oil, pressed out of the inwards of fishes, from their butter, and from their fisheries: they fish in small vessels of two oars, which they buy of the Norwegians. Part of the fish which they catch they salt, and part they dry in the wind. Out of these, being sold, they raise a sum of money to pay their tribute, and to provide dwelling houses, and household stuff, and a great part of their food arises from thence also. They who study neatness in their domestic utensils, are accustomed to have some plate in their houses. They use measures, numbers and weights after the German fashion. Their language is also German, or almost the ancient Gothic. They know not what it is to be drunk, only every month they invite one another, and on those days they are innocently merry and jocund, without those brawls and other vices, which are occasioned by drunkenness; for they persuade themselves that this custom contributes much for the maintaining of mutual friendship. The firmness of their health appeared in one named Laurence in our age, who, after he was an hundred years old, married a wife. And when he was an hundred and forty, he used to fish with his skiff, even in a very rough and raging sea; he died but lately, not by the shock of any grievous disease, but only by the infirmities and languishings of old age.

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.



BOOK II.

Containing the ancient Names, Manners, Laws, and Customs of the Country, and what People inhabited the Island from the very beginning.

WHEN I endeavoured to retrieve the memory of British affairs, for above two thousand years past, many impediments offered in bar to my design; amongst which this was the chief, that there were for a long time no monuments of learning in those countries, from which the knowledge of our original was to be derived; and when letters came, though but late, into use, they were nipped almost in the very bud: for I may safely affirm, that all the nations, which hitherto have seated themselves in Britain, came thither from Gaul, Spain, and Germany. The Gauls first of all received the characters of letters from the Marsellian Greeks, by which they used to make up their accounts, and to send letters one to another. Alphabets, or the figures which every letter bore were Greek; but the language was Gallic. But they did not commit their laws, and the rites of their religion to writing, even in Julius Cæsar's time; and much less did they record their exploits, which yet it is probable, were very great: those things which they either did or suffered in Italy, Germany, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece and Asia, had been buried likewise in the same oblivion, (so that posterity would never have come to the knowledge of them), if foreign writers had not recorded and transmitted them down to us. I confess, in Spain the Greeks had the use of letters; and before them the Phœnicians, who inhabited the shores of the Mediterranean sea; but of the Barbarians only the Turdetani (as Strabo writes) had any knowledge of them. But as for any ancient writer, there was yet none that I know of, for Varro, Pliny, and any other Latin authors, who touched any thing, by the by, concerning the first inhabitants of Spain, confirm their opinions therein, rather by bare conjectures, than the testimony of writers. In that part of Britain which Cæsar visited, there were no ancient records at all; and among the farther inland

inhabitants, which were still more barbarous, they were much less to be expected. So that when he asked them concerning the origin of their nation, and its most ancient inhabitants, as he writes, they returned him no certain answer at all.

After Cæsar, Cornelius Tacitus, an author both faithful and diligent, though the Roman navy had then coasted about Britain, and had discovered all its inmost roads and recesses, could however find out nothing of certainty, nothing that he would venture to transmit to posterity. Moreover, Gildas, who lived above four hundred years after Tacitus, doth affirm, that what he writes was not from any monuments of antiquity, of which he could find none at all, but from reports abroad, that he gathered beyond sea. As for Germany, that country was furnished with learning last of all; but seeing she had nothing to produce out of old records, which could be avouched for truth, according to her wonted ingenuity in other cases, she coined no fictions of her own, to obtrude upon the world. So then, they who affirm, that they deduce the original of the Britons from old annals, must first tell us who was the author or discoverer of those annals: as also, where they have been concealed so long: and how they came down uncorrupted to us, after so many ages. In this case, some fly to the bards and senachies, as the preservers of ancient records, but very ridiculously; which will be more clearly understood, if I explain what kind of men those were, to whom they would have credit to be given, in matters of so great moment, and those so obscure too, and so remote from our memory. First, Strabo and Ammianus describe to us very plainly what the bards were, both before, and also in their times. But Lucan doth it clearly and distinctly enough for our present purpose, in these verses,

*Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,
Laudibus in longum, vates, diffunditis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina, bardi.*

*Ye bards, such valiant souls, as fall in war,
Perpetuate with rhymes, and praises rare.*

But the very oldest of them were altogether ignorant of letters, neither did they leave any records of ancient matters behind them.

The other were bards or senachies, (as they call them), which were maintained by the chiefs of the ancient clans, and by some wealthy men besides, one each, on purpose to commemorate their ancestors and first of their families in genealogies which they got by heart. But these too, having no learning at all, let any man judge what credit is to be given to them, whose hopes and subsistence did totally depend upon soothing and flattering others. Besides, tho' all that they delivered were most true, yet small would be the advantage to the writer of an history. Lastly, let us consider how often the writers of such famous deeds as are past, are found in manifest mistakes; how often they themselves waver, doubt, fluctuate, and are at a loss; how vastly some of them differ not only from o-

thers, but even from themselves. If such errors are incident even to those who seek after truth with great labour and study, what can we hope for from such other persons, who being without learning (by which they who casually mistake, may be better informed, and those who mistake on purpose, may be confronted), depend wholly upon their memory? I might allege, that the memory is oftentimes impaired by disuse; it is weakened by age; or wholly lost by some diseases. Besides, if they study chiefly to please their patrons, (which is commonly the case), or, on the contrary, if they have a mind to cross them, or, if the passions of anger, hatred, or envy intervene, (which pervert the judgment,) who can affirm any thing for truth upon such men's authorities? Or, who would take the pains to refute it, though false? Or, who would deliver down for certain what they received from such uncertain authors? Wherefore, where the old writers are so generally silent (concerning matters of antiquity) who were often so egregiously ignorant, even of things acted in their own times, that nothing can certainly be grounded upon them, I count it more modest to be silent in what one knows not, than by devising falsehoods to betray one's own confidence, in prejudice of other men's judgment.

It follows then, that there was so great a scarcity of writers amongst all the nations of the Britons, that, before the coming in of the Romans, all things were buried in the profound darkness of an universal silence; insomuch, that we can get no information of what was acted, even by the Romans themselves, otherwise than from Greek and Latin monuments; and as for those things which preceded their coming, we may rather believe their conjectures, than our own fictions. For what our writers have delivered, every one concerning the original of his own sept or nation, is so absurd, that I should have counted my time lost to go about to refute it, were there not some who delighted in such fables, as if they were as true as gospel, and took a pride to deck themselves with borrowed feathers.

Moreover, the disagreement of later writers makes a great accession to the difficulty of this task; for they deliver such repugnancies, that a man cannot well tell whom to follow; nay, there is so much absurdity amongst them, that all of them seem to deserve no other notice but that of contempt. Neither do I so much wonder at the silence of the ancients in a matter so obscure, or the disagreements among later writers in feigning falsehoods, as I do at the agreeing impudence of some few; for they write of those times, in which all things were dubious and uncertain, with so much positiveness and confidence, as if their design was rather to tickle the reader's ear, than to shew the least regard to truth in their narratives.

For in those early times, when the use of tillage was not common, neither among the Britons, nor many other nations, but all their wealth consisted in their cattle; men had no regard to their

substance, which was very small, but often changed their habitations, being either expelled by such as were more powerful than themselves, or they themselves drove out the weaker, or else they sought out better pasture for their cattle in wild and desert places. Upon one or other of these grounds, they easily changed their dwellings; and the places they removed to, soon got new names with their new masters. Besides, the ambition of the wealthier sort helped much to perplex the accounts of things, who, to perpetuate their memory to posterity, called countries, provinces, and towns, by their own names. Almost all the cities in Spain had two names; the names of the inhabitants, and also of the cities and countries therein received frequent alterations. Not to speak of Egypt, Greece, and other remote countries.

Sæpius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus.

Fair Italy (says fame)

Full oft hath chang'd her name.

Add hereunto, that those nations, who live in the same country, have not always the same names. That which the Latins call Hispania, the Greeks, Iberia, the poets, Hesperia, St. Paul in his epistle, Theodoret and Sozomen in their history call Spania *i. e.* Spain. The name of the Greeks, so celebrated by the Latins, and all nations of Europe, is more obscure than the Greeks themselves. The Hebrews and Arabians keep their old appellations of almost all nations, which were never so much as heard of by other people. Scotch and English are the common names of the British nations, which, at this day, are almost unknown to the ancient Scots and Britons; for they call the one Albines, the other Saxons. And, therefore, it is no wonder if, in so great an uncertainty of human affairs, writers, who were born at different times, far distant one from another, and having different languages, and manners too, do not always agree amongst themselves in the names of persons and places. Though these things have occasioned difficulties great enough to the searchers after the first originals of nations; yet some of the moderns too, being acted by a principle of ambition, have involved all things in most thick and palpable darkness. For, whilst every one would fetch the original of his nation as high as he could, and so endeavour to enoble it by devised fables, by this immoderate licence of coining fictions, what do they but obscure that, which they ought to illustrate? And, if at any time they speak truth; yet, by their frequent and ridiculous untruths at other times, they detract from their own credit, and are so far from obtaining that esteem which they hoped for, that, by reason of their falsehoods, they are laughed at, even by those whom they endeavoured to cajole into an assent.

To make this plain, I will begin, as with the ancientest nation, so from the most notorious and impudent falsehood. The compilers of a new history of the ancient Britons, having interpolated

the fable of the Danaides, feign, that one Diocletian, King of Syria, begat thirty-three daughters on his wife Labana; who killing their husbands on their wedding night, their father crowded them altogether into one ship, without any master or sailors; who, arriving in Britain, then but a desert, did not only live solitarily in that cold country, on a few wild fruits, but also by the compression of Cacodæmons, forsooth, they brought forth giants, whose race continued till the arrival of Brutus. They say the island was called Albion from Albine, and that Brutus was the great grandson of Æneas the Trojan, and the son of Æneas Sylvius. This Brutus having accidentally killed his father with a dart, it was looked upon as a lamentable and piteous fact by all men; yet, because it was not done on purpose, the punishment of death was remitted and banishment either enjoined, or voluntarily chosen by him. This parricide having consulted the oracle of Diana, and having run various hazards through so many lands and seas, after ten years arrived in Britain, with a great number of followers; and by many combats having conquered the terrible giants in Albion, he gained the empire of the whole island. He had three sons (as they proceed to fable) Locrinus, Albanactus, and Camber, between whom the island was divided; Albanactus ruled over the Albans, afterwards called Scots; Camber over the Cambrians, *i. e.* the Welsh; they both governed their respective kingdoms so, as that Locrinus had the supreme dominion; who being ruler of the rest of the Britons, gave the name of * Loegria to his part. Later writers, that they might also propagate this fabulous empire as much as they could; add, that Vendelina succeeded her father Locrinus; Madanus, Vendelina; Menpricius, Madanus; and Ebrancus, Menpricius; which latter, of twenty wives begat as many sons, of which nineteen went over into Germany, and by force of arms conquered that country, being assisted by the forces of their kinsman, Alba Sylvius; and from those brothers, the country was called Germany. These are the things which the old Britons, and after them, some of the English, have delivered concerning the first inhabitants of Britain.

Here I cannot but stand amazed at their design, who might easily, and without any reflection at all, have imitated the Athenians, Arcadians, and other famous nations, and have called themselves Indigenæ, seeing it would have been no disgrace to them to own that origin, which the noblest and wisest city in the whole world counted her glory; especially since that opinion could not be refuted out of ancient writers, and had no mean assertors; yet, that they had rather forge ancestors to themselves, from the refuse of all nations, whom the very series of the narration itself did make suspected, even to the unskilful vulgar; and which none of the ancients, no, not by the least suspicion, did confirm. Besides, if that had not pleased them, seeing it was free for them, to have assumed

* An old name for England.

honourable ancestors to themselves, out of any old book which some of the poets have writ: I wonder in my heart what was in their minds, to make choice of such, of whom all their posterity might justly be ashamed. For what great folly is it, to think nothing illustrious or magnificent but what is profligate and flagitious? yet some there are, that pride themselves, among the ignorant, upon the score of such fables. As for John Annius, a man, I grant, not unlearned, I think he may be pardoned, seeing poets claim a liberty to celebrate the original of families and nations, with the mixture of figments; but I cannot think it reasonable to allow the same privilege to those who undertake, professedly to write an history.

To return then to what I was saying: what is more abhorrent from all belief, than that a few girls, without the help of men to manage their vessel, should come from Syria, through so many seas, (which voyage, even now, at this present day, when men have attained, by use and custom, more skill in navigation, is yet hazardous, though with a brave and well furnished crew), to the end, as it were, of the world, and into a desolate island too; and there to live without corn and fruits of trees? Nay, that such ladies of a royal stock should not only bare maintain their lives, in so cold a climate, destitute of all things, but also should bring forth giants; and that their copulations, or marriages, might not seem unsuitable to their state, that they were got with child (would you think it?) by Cacodæmons? As for that Diocletian, pray, at what time, and in what part of Syria did he reign? How comes it to pass, that authors make no mention of him, especially since the affairs of no nation are more diligently transmitted to posterity, than those of the Syrians? How came he to be called Diocletian? by a name which took its rise a thousand years after him, amongst the barbarians, originally Greek, but declined after the Latin form.

The next accession of nobility, forsooth, is Brutus, the parricide, that he might not, in that respect, be inferior to Romulus. This Brutus, whatsoever he were, whom the Britons make the author of their name and nation, with what forces, with what correspondent language, could he penetrate so far into Britain? Especially in those times, when the Roman arms, even in the most flourishing state of their commonwealth, having conquered almost all the world besides, could scarce succeed: for it is needless to mention, how, before Rome was built, the affairs of Italy were at a very low ebb; and how the inhabitants thereof were averse from all peregrination and travel. Neither need I inquire, whether he came by land or sea? The Alps, till that time, were passable only to Hercules; and the Gauls, by reason of their natural fierceness, were as yet unacquainted with the converse of foreigners. As for sea voyages, the Carthaginians and the Greeks inhabiting Marseilles, scarce dared to venture into the ocean, but very late, and when things were well settled at home; and, even then, their voyages were rather for discovery than conquest; much less can we believe that Alban shep-

herds, a wildish sort of people, would undertake so bold an adventure. Besides, all men who are not ignorant of Latin, do know, that the name of Brutus began to be celebrated under Tarquinius Superbus, almost five hundred years after that Commentitious Brutus; when Lucius Junius, a nobleman, laying aside his native grandeur, condescended to do things far below himself, on purpose to avoid the cruelty of their kings; and, on pretence of being foolish, he took that new surname to himself, and transmitted it to his posterity. But the monk, who was the forger and deviser of this fable of Brutus, seemed to see the absurdity of the invention himself; yea, he thought to stop all men's mouths with the pretence of religion, forsooth, in the case, and would have every body think, that they obeyed the oracle of Diana. Here I will not be nice in inquiring why this oracle of Diana was so unknown to posterity, when the oracles of Faunus, of Sibylla, and the Prænestine lots, were then in so great credit.

I will only ask, In what language did Diana answer? If they say, in Latin; I demand how Brutus could understand a language, which began nine hundred years after his time? For, since Horace, a very learned man, doth ingenuously confess, that he did not understand the Saliar rhymes, which were made in the reign of Numa Pompilius, how could that Brutus, who died so many years before the priests called Salii were instituted, understand verses, made long after Horace, his time, as the tenor of their composure doth shew? Besides, how could the posterity of Brutus so totally forget the Latin tongue, that not the least footsteps of it should remain amongst them? And whence got they that language which they now use? Or, if it be granted, that their supposed gods, as well as their men, then spoke British language in Italy, yet surely it was not the tongue the Britons now make use of; for that is so patched up of the languages of the neighbouring nations, that several countries may know, and own their own words, upon the first hearing. But if they say, that those ancient Latins spoke British, how could that monk understand so old a word, which was given out 2000 years before? But why do I prosecute these things so particularly, since it appears by many other arguments also, that the same monk forged this whole story, and begat such a Brutus, (in his own brain) as never was in-nature; and also devised the oracle of Diana too? I shall add the verses themselves, that the vanity of such cunning sophisters may be set in the fullest light.

Brutus's address to the oracle.

*Divæ, potens nemorum, terror sylvestribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per atherios,
Infernasque domos: terrestria jura resolve,
Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis.
Dic certam sedem, qua te veneremur in ævum,
Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.*

*Goddess of groves, and wild boars chase,
Who dost th' ethereal mansions trace,
And Pluto's too: resolve this doubt,
Tell me, what country to find out,
Where I may fix, where temples raise,
For virgin-choirs to sing thy praise.*

The oracle's answer.

Diana answers in verses of the same kind, (so that they must needs be made by one and the same poet,) not perplexed and ambiguous ones; or, such as may be interpreted divers ways, but clear and perspicuous ones, wherein she promiseth that which she could never give, viz. *the empire of the whole world.*

*Brute, sub occasum solis trans Gallica regna,
Insula in oceano est, undique cincta mari.
Insula in oceano est, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deserta quidem, gentibus apta tuis.
Hanc pete, namque tibi sedes erat illa perennis,
Hæc fiet natis altera Troja tuis;
Hic de prole tua reges nascentur, et illis
Totius terræ subditus orbis erit.*

*Beyond proud Gallia's wide extended lines,
Where sets the sun, but large its glory shines;
An isle do's in the circling ocean stand,
And giants once inhabited the land;
Now desolate it wants a regal guest,
And courts thy people to a seat of rest.
Go, Brutus, go, and make that realm thy own,
Where endless empire greets thee to the throne;
There thy long offspring shall behold with joy
A rising nation, and a second Troy;
And to that height promote their sceptred sway,
The vanquish'd world shall willingly obey.*

I suppose, by these verses, compared with their histories, the whole forgery will be discovered, and that plainly enough. For, besides the vain promises on both sides, the rhymes say, that the island was not then inhabited but desolate, but that it had been inhabited before: but where I pray then, were those portentous figments of Gogmagog and Tentagol, and other frightful names of men, invented for terror, shall I say, or for laughter rather? What will become of those doughty combats of Corinæus, and others, the companions of Brutus, against not the earth-born, but hell-born giants? Thus far concerning Brutus and his oracle.

Though these be so great fictions, yet posterity is so little ashamed of them, that, but a few years ago, no mean writer amongst them impudently feigned that the Trojans spoke the British lan-

guage. Homer and Dionysius Halicarnassus, very easily refute the vanity of this shameless opinion; for the one gives Greek names to all the Trojans; the other, in a long and serious disputation, maintains that the Trojans were originally Greeks. I pass by this consideration, how Brutus, when he arrived in England, with no great train, could, within the space of twenty years, establish three kingdoms; and how they, who, all of them put together at first, could scarce make up the number of one mean colony, should, in so short a time, people an island, the largest in the whole world, and furnish it not only with villages and cities, but with all that belongs to three large kingdoms also; nay, who a while after, it seems, grew so numerous, that Britain could not contain them, but they were forced to transport themselves into the large country of Germany; where, overcoming the inhabitants, they compelled them to assume their own name, which was not a British, but a Latin one; and so, from those nineteen brothers, forsooth, (which indeed were not properly real brothers, as we say, for almost every one of them had a several mother,) that the country should be called Germany. I have related this fable, as absurd as it is, not to take the pains to refute it, but to leave it to the Germans themselves for sport and ridicule.

This in general concerning the fables of the Britons. But the intent of those who devised them, seems not very obscure to me; for that monstrous fiction of devils lying with virgins, seems to have this tendency, viz. that they might either prove an alliance between their Brutus, and two of the greatest neighbouring nations, or else, that they might vie with them in the nobility of their original. For the Gauls affirmed, (as Cæsar hath it,) that they were descended from father Pluto; and so did the Germans, according to Tacitus. The cause of devising this fiction concerning Brutus, seems to be alike. For seeing the Buthrotii in Epirus, several people in Sicily; the Romans, Campanians, and Sulmonenses in Italy; the Averni, Hedui, Sequani; and last of all the Franks in Gaul, celebrated, I know not what, Trojans as their founders; the writers of British affairs thought it likewise very conducive to the advancement of the nobility of their nation, if they derived its original too from the very archives of antiquity, and especially from the Trojans, either because of the renown of that city, which was praised by almost all nations, or else by reason of its alliance with so many nations, which are said to have started up, as it were, out of the same common shipwreck of that one town. Neither did they think themselves guilty of any effrontery in the falsehood, if they partook of the feigned nobility, which grew, by the same artifice, common to so many nations, besides themselves. Hence arose, as I judge, the fiction of Brutus, and other fables of an older date, which were as impudently devised, as they were foolishly received; of all which it will, perhaps, be enough to shew the vanity, to put the reader in mind,

that they were unknown to ancient writers; that when learning flourished, they dared not peep abroad; that they were coined in its decay, recorded by unlearned flatterers, and entertained by ignorant, and too credulous persons, who did not understand the frauds of such deluding authors. For such is the disposition of those impostors, who do not seek the public good by a true history, but some private advantage by flattery, that when they seem highly to praise, then they most of all deride and jeer. For what do they else, who, pretending to advance the nobility of a people, for its greater splendor, fetch it from the scum and refuse of nature? And yet credulous, (shall I say,) or rather sottish persons, pride themselves in a pretended eminency of original, for which none of their neighbours will envy them.

Those who have written the Scottish affairs, have delivered down to us a more creditable and noble origin, as they think, but no less fabulous than that of the Britons. For they have adopted ancestors to us, not from the Trojan fugitives, but from those Greek heroes, whose posterity conquered Troy. For seeing, in those ancient times, two nations of the Greeks were most of all celebrated, the Dories and the Iones, and the princes of the Dories were the Argivi; and of the Iones, the Athenians; the Scots make one Gathelus to be the chief founder of their nation, but whether he were the son of Argus, or of Cecrops, that they leave in doubt; and that they may not be inferior on this account to the eminency of the Romans, they have added to him a strong band of robbers, with which he going into Egypt, performed gallant exploits, and after the departure (would you think it?) of Moses, was made general of the king's forces in that land. And that, afterwards, with his wife Scots, the daughter of the king of Egypt, he sailed about the whole coast of Europe, adjacent to the Mediterranean sea; and having passed through so many countries, which were desolate in that age, or else inhabited but by few, and in few places, as Greece, Italy, France, and the whole coast of Africa, not to mention the numerous islands of the Mediterranean sea, some will have him to land at the mouth of the river Iberus; but leaving that country, which he could not keep, they draw him on farther to Gallicia, a country much more barren. Some land him at the mouth of the river Durius, being the first of all men, as I suppose, who adventured into the ocean with a navy of ships; and that there he built a town, which is now called, from his name, Portus Gatheli, or Port a Port, whence the whole country, which from Lus and Lusa, the children of Bacchus, was a long time called Lusitania, began to be called Portugal; and afterwards being forced to pass into Gallicia, he there built Brigantia, now called Compostella; also, that Braga in Portugal was built by him at the mouth of the river Munda.

These are the things which the Scots have fabulously written concerning the original of their nation. In feigning of which, how uncircumspect they were, we may gather from hence, that

they did not give so much as a Greek name to that Grecian Gathelus, who was indeed unknown to the Greek writers; that they allotted a Latin name, from the word *Portus*, to the city built by him, rather than a Greek one, especially in those times when Italy itself was known to very few of the Greeks; that they doubt whether he were the son of Argus, or of Cecrops, seeing Argus lived almost an hundred years before Cecrops. That he, who had arrived at such a figure by his prudence, even amongst the most ingenious persons in the world, as to enjoy the next place to the king, and to be put in the room of Moses after his departure; and besides being a stranger, to be honoured with the marriage of the king's daughter; that he, I say, leaving the fruitfulest region in the world, and passing by the lands of both continents, both to the right and left, and also so many islands, all fruitful in corn, and some of them also famous for the temperature of the air, as Crete, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, (which, at that time, were rather possessed than cultivated by a wild sort of people,) should launch out into the main ocean, the very name whereof was formidable, especially since men had then but small skill in marine affairs, or, that he built the city of Port Gathelus, or Port a Port, at the river Duero, the name of which city was never heard of till the Saracens obtained the dominion of Portugal; also, that he built Braga at the mouth of the river Munda, seeing there is so many miles distance between Braga and Munda; two famous rivers also lying betwixt them, viz. Duero and Vouga, or Vaca; and Braga itself being not altogether a maritime place. Moreover, I may well ask how Gathelus, a Grecian, born of a noble family, and, besides, eminent for famous deeds, seeing he was of a most ambitious nation, to commend his name to posterity, after he had been conveyed with a great train into the extreme parts of the world, and as matters then stood, almost rude and barbarous, having built towns, did not give them his own, no, not so much as one Greek name? For the name of Portugal, or, as some will have it, the port of Gathel, being unknown to so many ancient writers, who have professedly undertook to describe the names of countries and places, began to be celebrated but about four hundred years ago. And the silence of all the Greeks and Latins concerning the coming of Gathelus into Spain, makes it much suspected, especially since the ancients make notable and frequent mention of the Phœnicians, Persians, Carthaginians, Iberians, Gauls, and of the companions of Hercules and Bacchus, who came into that country. But our fablers (as I judge) never read the monuments of the ancients; for, if they had, seeing it was free for them to assume an author and founder of their nation and nobility, out of any of the famous Grecians, they would never have picked up an ignoble person for their founder; passing by Hercules and Bacchus, who were famous amongst all nations, and whom they might have culled out as well as any other, for the original of their race.

These are the things which our writers have generally delivered, concerning the rise of our nation; which, if I have prosecuted more largely than was necessary, it is to be imputed to those, who pertinaciously defend them, as a *palladium dropt down from heaven. He that considers that, will no doubt, by reason of the obstinacy of my adversaries, be more favourable to me. Concerning the other nations, which came later into these islands, and fixed their habitations there, Picts, Saxons, Danes, Normans, because their history doth not contain any monstrous absurdity, I shall speak of them hereafter, in a more proper place.

But these two nations which I have mentioned, seem to me to have deduced their original from the Gauls, and I will give you the reasons of this my judgment, when I have first premised a few things, concerning the ancient customs of the Gauls. All Gaul, though it be fruitful in corn, yet it is said to be, and indeed is, more fruitful in men; so that as Strabo relates, there were three hundred thousand of the Celtæ only, who were able to bear arms, though they inhabited but a third part of France; therefore, though they lived in a fruitful country, yet being over-burdened by their own multitudes, it is probable, that for the lessening of them, they were permitted to use masculine venery. Yet when by this expedient, there seemed not provision enough made against the penury of their soil, their children being still too numerous and burdensome, sometimes by public edicts, and sometimes by private resolutions, they sent out many colonies into all the neighbouring countries, that their multitudes at home might be exhausted.

To begin with Spain: they sent their colonies so thick thither, that Ephorus, as Strabo relates, extends the length of Gaul even to the Gades or Cadiz; and indeed all that side of Spain towards the north, by the names of the people and nations inhabiting them, hath long witnessed a French original. The first we meet with, are the Celtiberi.

—*Profugique a gente vetusta.*

Gallorum, Celtæ, miscentes nomen Iberis.

*The wand'ring Celts in Spain their dwellings fix'd,
And with Iberians there their names they mix'd.*

These extended their bounds so far, that, though they inhabited a craggy country, and besides not over-fruitful, yet Marcus Marcellus exacted from them six hundred talents, as a tribute. Moreover, from the Celtæ, or Celtiberi, the Celtici derive their original, dwelling by the river Anas, by Ptolemy surnamed Boetici; and also other Celts in Portugal, near to the river Anas; and if we may believe Pomponius Mela, a Spaniard, the Celts do inhabit from the

* Palladium, properly the image of Pallas in Troy, which as long as they kept in her temple, Troy could not be taken, (as the Trojans thought), but when Ulysses stole it away, then they were soon destroyed by the Greeks.

mouth of the river Duero, as far as the promontory which they call Celticum or Nerium, *i. e.* Cape Finisterre, but distinguished by their surnames, viz. the Gronii, Præsamarci, Tamarici, Nerii, and the rest of the Gallæci, which name shews their original to be Gauls.

On the other side, there passed out of France into Italy, the Ligurians, the Libii, the Sallassi, the Insubres, the Cenomani, the Boii, and the Senones; and if we may believe some ancient writers, the Veneti. I need not relate how large dominions these nations had in Italy, because every body who is but the least versed in history, cannot be ignorant in that point; neither will I be too scrupulous in inquiring what troops of Gauls made their seats in Thrace; or, leaving it, having subdued Macedonia and Greece, passed into Bithynia, where they erected the kingdom of Gallo-Græcia in Asia; since that matter doth not much concern our present purpose.

My discourse then hastens to Germany, and concerning the Gaulish colonies therein, we have most authentic evidences, C. Julius Cæsar, and C. Cornelius Tacitus; the first of them in his Commentaries of the Gallic war, writes, that at one certain period of time the Gauls were esteemed more valiant than the Germans. And therefore that the Tectosages possessed the most fruitful part of Germany about the Hercynian forest; and the Bohemians, as the other affirms, shew plainly by their names, that their founders were the Boii. And sometimes the Helvetians possessed the nearer places between the rivers Main and Rhine, also the Decumates beyond the Rhine, were of Gallic original, and the Gothini near the Danube, whom Claudian calls Gothuni; Arianus in the life of Alexander calls them Getini; and Flavius Vopiscus, in the life of Probus, Gautunni. But Claudian reckons even the Gothunni amongst the Getæ; and Stephanus is of opinion, that the Getes are called Getini, by Ammianus; so that perhaps the Getes themselves may acknowledge a Gallic original; it being certain, that many Gallic nations passed over into Thrace, and resided there in that circuit which the Getes are said to have possessed: Tacitus also writes, that in his time, the Gothini used the Gallic language; besides, the Cimbri, as Philemon says, and (if we believe Tacitus) the Æstiones dwelling by the Swedish sea, where they gather amber, did speak British, which language was then the same with the Gallic, or not much different from it. Many are the signs and marks of Gallic colonies, through all Germany; which I would willingly recite, but that what I have already alleged is enough for my purpose, viz. to show how widely France extended her colonies round about Britain.

What then shall we say of Britain itself; which did not equal those nations in greatness, nor strength, nor skill in military affairs? What did she, that was so near to the valiantest of the Gauls, and not inferior to the neighbouring nations, either in the mildness of the air, or the fruitfulness of the soil? Did she, I say, entertain no fo-

reign colonies? Yes, many, as Cæsar and Tacitus affirm; and, I hold, all her ancient inhabitants were such. For it is manifest, that three sorts of people did in times of old possess the whole island, the Britons, Picts, and Scots; of which I will discourse in their proper order.

To begin then with the Britons, whose dominion was of largest extent in Albion: the first, that I know, who hath discovered any certainty concerning them, was C. Julius Cæsar. He thinks, that the inmost inhabitants were Indigenæ, because, after diligent inquiry, he could find nothing of their first coming thither; neither had they any monuments of learning, whence he could receive any information. He says, that the maritime parts of the island were possessed by the Belgæ, whom hopes of prey had allured thither, and the fruitfulness of the soil, and mildness of the air, had detained there. He thinks this a sufficient argument to confirm his opinion, that many did retain the names of the cities whence they came, and that their buildings were like those of the Gauls.

Cornelius Tacitus, an author of great credit, adds, that their manners are not unlike, and that they are equally bold in running into dangers, and equally in a dread, and quite at a loss how to get out of them; that there were great factions and divisions among them both. And lastly, that Britain, in his time, was in the same state as Gaul was, before the coming of the Romans. Pomponius Mela adds farther, that the Britons, used to fight on horseback, in chariots and coaches, in French armour. Add to this, that Bede, before all those who have written such fabulous things of the origin of the Britons, and is of greater authority than all of them together, affirms, that the first inhabitants of the island came out of the tract of Armorica. Some grammatists of the Greeks differ much from the abovementioned authors; for they say, that the Britons received their names from Britannus, the son of Celto. They assuredly agree in this, that they would be thought to derive their original from the Gauls. Of the later authors, Robertus, Cænalis, and Pomponius Lætus, in the life of Diocletian, (an author not to be despised), subscribe to this opinion; both of them, as I suppose, being convinced by the power of truth. Yet, both seem to me to mistake in this point, that they deduce them from the peninsula of the Britons, which is now called Brittany on the river Loire, especially since the maritime colonies of Britain, as Cæsar observes, testify by their very names from what place they were transplanted.

It follows, that we speak of the Gallic colonies, sent into Ireland. I shewed before, that all the north side of Spain was possessed by Gallic colonies. And there are many reasons to be assigned, why they might pass out of Spain into Ireland: for, either the nearness of the country, and easiness of the passage, might be a great inducement; or else, the Spaniards might be expelled out of their habitations by the excessive power and domination of the Persians, Phœnicians, and Grecians; who, having overcome the Spaniards, ren-

dered them weak and obnoxious to their oppression and violence. Moreover, their might be causes amongst the Spaniards themselves; for they being a people packed together, and made up of many nations, and not well agreeing among themselves; the desire of liberty, and of avoiding servitude, in the midst of civil wars and new tumults, arising amongst a people that was greedy of war, might make them willing to separate: he that weighs these causes of their departure, will not wonder, if many of them did prefer a mean condition abroad, joined with liberty, before a domestic and bitter slavery; and when they were once arrived there, the state of Spain growing daily more and more turbulent, made them willing to continue where they were; for sometimes the Carthaginians, and sometimes the Romans made the conquered Spaniards taste all the miseries of a servile life, and so compelled them to avoid those evils by a flight into Ireland; there being no other neighbouring nation into which, either in their prosperity they might so well transport their crowds of people; or else, where, in adversity, they could find shelter against their calamities.

Besides, the clemency of the air was one occasion of their stay; for, as Cæsar says, the air of Britain is more temperate than that of France. And Ireland exceeds both in goodness of soil, and also in an equal temperature of the air and climate. And what is still more, when men born and educated in a barren soil, and given to laziness besides, as all Spaniards are, had the happiness of being transplanted into almost the richest pastures of all Europe, no wonder they willingly withdrew themselves from home-bred tumults, into the bosom of a peace beyond sea. Notwithstanding all that I have said, yet I would not refuse the opinion of any nation concerning their ancestors, provided it was supported by probable conjectures, and ancient testimony.

For Tacitus, upon sure conjectures, as he thinks, doth affirm, that the west side of Britain or Albium, was inhabited by the posterity of the Spaniards. But it is not probable, that the Spaniards should leave Ireland behind them, being a country nearer, and of a milder air and soil, and first land in Albium; but rather that they first arrived in Ireland, and from thence transplanted their colonies into Britain. And that the same thing happened to the Scots, all their annals do testify, and Bede, lib. 1. doth affirm. For all the inhabitants of Ireland were first called Scots, as Orosius shews; and our annals relate, that the Scots passed more than once out of Ireland into Albium: first of all, under Fergusius, the son of Ferchard, being their captain; and after some ages, being expelled from thence, they returned into Ireland; and again, under their general Reutharus, they returned into Britain. And afterwards in the reign of Fergusias II. great aids of Irish Scots were sent hither, who had their quarters assigned them in Galloway. And Claudian in his time shews, that auxiliaries were carried over from thence in transports against the Romans; for he says,

— *Totam cum Scotus Iernam
Movit, & infesto spumavit sanguine Tethys.*
*The Scot all Ireland did excite,
To cross the seas, 'gainst Rome to fight.*

And in another place,
Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.
Whole heaps of Scots cold Ireland did lament.

But in the beginning, when both people, *i. e.* the inhabitants of Ireland, and their colonies sent into Albium, were called Scots, that there might be some distinction betwixt them, some Scots were called Irish Scots, others Albin Scots; and by degrees, their surnames came to be their only names; so that the ancient name of Scots was almost forgotten, and not to be retrieved from common speech, but only from books and annals. As for the name of Picts, I judge it not their ancient and country name, but occasionally given them by the Romans, because their bodies were printed and painted with artful incisions, which the verses of Claudian do shew.

*Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos,
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.*
*He nimble Moors, and painted Picts did tame,
With far stretch'd sword the Scots he overcame,
Did with bold oars the northern waves divide.*

And elsewhere,
*Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exanimis, Picto moriente, figuras.*
*The legion came the utmost Britains guard,
Which the fierce Scot did curb with bridle hard;
And read the marks i' th' skins of dying Picts,
Insculp'd with iron.*

Herodian also makes mention of the same nation, but conceals their name, and says plainly, that they did paint their bodies; but he doth not affirm, that they did it with iron; neither (says he) are they acquainted with the use of apparel, but they wear iron round their belly and their neck, thinking that metal to be an ornament and sign of riches; as the other barbarians do gold. Farther, they have likewise a way of marking their bodies with variety of pictures, and with animals of all shapes, and therefore they will put on no garments lest they should hide their pictures. What name they called themselves by, is a thing so ancient, it is hard to determine. It is certain, the neighbouring nations do not agree concerning their name; for the Britons call them Pictiades; the English,

Pichti; the old Scots, Peachtì. And besides, the names of some places, which were heretofore under the jurisdiction of the Picts, but are now possessed by the Scots, seem to infer a different appellation from them all. For the hills called Pentland-hills, and the Pentland-bay, or frith, seem to be derived from *Penthus*, not from *Pictus*. But, I verily believe, those names were imposed, in after times, either by the English, or else by the Scots, who used the English tongue; for the ancient Scots did neither understand nor use them. As for the name of Picts, whether the Romans translated a barbarous word into a Latin one of a near sound; or, whether the Barbarians applied a Latin word, every one to his own country tone and declension, it is all a case to me. Well then, being agreed of the name, and it being confessed by all writers, that they came from the eastern parts into Britain; from Scythia, say some; from Germany, say others; it remains, that tracing their footsteps by conjectures, we come as near the truth as we can. Neither do I perceive any surer foundation of my disquisition, than that which is grounded on the painting of bodies. Now this painting was used by the Britons, the Aarii in Germany, and the Agathyrsi: but that they might appear more terrible to the enemy in war, they painted only with the juice of herbs. But seeing the Picts marked their skins with iron, and painted them with the pictures of divers animals, the best way will be to inquire, what nations, either in Scythia, Germany, or the neighbouring countries, did use that custom of painting their bodies, not for terror but ornament. And, first, we meet in Thracia with the Geloni, according to Virgil, of whom Claudian speaks in his first book against Rufinus:

Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse, Gelonus.

The Geloni love to print

Their limbs with iron instrument.

We meet also with the Gætæ in Thrace, mentioned by the same poet;

Crinigeri sedere patres, pellita Getarum

Curia, quos plagis decorat numerosa cicatrix.

Skin-wearing Getes consult, with hair unshorn,

Whose marked bodies num'rous scars adorn.

Therefore, seeing the Geloni, as Virgil writes, are neighbours to the Getes, and either the Gothunni, or Getini, according to Arrianus, are numbered amongst the Getes; and seeing the Gothunni, as Tacitus says, speak the Gallic language, what hinders but that we may believe the Picts had their original from thence?

But from whatsoever province of Germany they came, I think it very probable, that they were of the ancient colonies of the Gauls, who seated themselves either on the Swedish sea, or on the Da-

nube. For the men of a Gallic descent, being counted foreigners by the Germans, (as indeed they were,) I judge their name was used in way of a reproach, so that one word, *i. e.* Walsch, with them, signifies a Gaul, a stranger, and a barbarian too. So that it is very credible, that the ancestors of the Picts, either being expelled by their neighbours, or driven up and down by tempests, were easily reconciled to the Scots; nay, were befriended and aided, (as it is reported) by them, as a people allied to them, and their religious customs not unlike. So that it might easily come to pass, that thereupon they might mix their blood, and by marriages, make a coalition, as it were, into one nation. For otherwise, I do not see, how the Scots, which then possessed Ireland, being a fierce and rough people, should so easily enter into an affinity and complete friendship with strangers, who were necessitous and destitute of all things, whom they never saw before, and with whom they had no commerce, in point of laws, religion, or language.

But here the authority of Bede, the Anglo-Saxon, stands a little in my way, who is the only writer I know of, that affirms, the Picts used a different language from the Scots; for speaking of Britain, he says, that it did search after, and profess the knowledge of the highest truth, and the sublimest science in five languages, the English, British, Scottish, Pictish, and Latin. But, I suppose, Bede calls five dialects of one and the same tongue, five tongues, as we see the Greeks did, in the like case: and as Cæsar doth, in the beginning of his Commentaries of the Gallic war. For he says, that three parts of Gaul used different languages and customs. But Strabo, though he grants that the Aquitains used a different language from the other Gauls; yet he affirms, that all the rest of the Gauls used the same language, but with a little variation. The Scots also do not differ from the Britons in their whole language, but in dialect rather, as I shall shew hereafter; their speech, at present, doth so far agree, that it seems of old to have been the same; for they differ less than some French provinces do, which yet are all said to speak French. And therefore other writers give not the least suspicion of a different language; and they, as long as both kingdoms were in being, as if they had been people of one nation, did always contract marriages one with another; and as they were mixed in the beginning, so afterwards they carried themselves as neighbours, and oftentimes as friends, until the destruction of the Picts.

Neither did the remainder of them, (who, when their military race was extinct, yet must needs be many), in any degree, corrupt the Scottish tongue: nor indeed are there any footsteps of a foreign language in the places and habitations which they left. For all the countries of the Picts, and particular places too, do yet retain Scottish appellations, except a very few; which, upon the Saxon tongue's prevailing over our country language, had German names imposed upon them.

Neither is this to be omitted, that, before the coming of the Saxons into Britain, we never read that the British nations used interpreters to understand one another. Wherefore, seeing the Scottish, English, and German writers do unanimously accord, that the original of the Picts was from Germany; and since it is also manifest, that the Gothunni, or Getini, were colonies of the Gauls, whose language they spoke; and that the Æstii living near the Swedish, or Baltic sea, spoke British; whence may we the most rationally fetch the descent of the Picts? Or, whither should they, being expelled from their native habitations, go, but to their own kindred? Or, where were they likely to obtain marriage-unions, but amongst a people of affinity with them in blood, language, and manners?

But if any one deny, that the Picts were descended from the Gothunni, or Æstii, or Getæ, being induced to that persuasion by the great distance of those countries from Britain; let him but consider, how many, and how great migrations of people were made, even in all parts of the world, in those times when the coming of the Picts into Britain is recorded to have happened, and also for many ages after; and then he may easily grant, that such things might not only be done, but be done with great ease. The Gauls did then possess great part of Spain, Italy, Germany and Britain, by their colonies; they proceeded as far as Palus Mœotis, and the Cimmerian Bosphorus, with their depredations; and after they had wasted Thrace, Macedonia and Greece, they fixed their seats of residence in Asia.

The Cimbri, Ambrones, and Teutones, having wasted Gaul, penetrated into Italy: the Geloni, whom Virgil places in Thrace, are, by other writers, said to dwell near to the Agathyrsi, in Scythia.

The Goths, for a great while an obscure nation, yet in a short time over-ran Europe, Asia, and Africa, like a flood. And therefore, inasmuch as for many ages after, those who were grandes, and more powerful than others, challenged to themselves the seats of their inferiors; the weak being obnoxious to the injuries of the strong, left their country, which they could not keep; so that it is no great wonder among the wise, if men, having long combated with adverse fortune, and being tossed up and down by many peregrinations, having, besides, no certain habitation, did at length betake themselves to remote, or far distant countries.

Besides, we see that the Roman writers place two ancient nations within those limits, which bounded the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts, the Maiatæ and Attacottæ. Of these, I suppose, the Maiatæ, whom Dion alone, of all the authors that I know, doth mention were of the Picts race, seeing he places them in the countries nearest to the Caledonian sea; and it is certain that the Picts did inhabit those provinces. As for the Attacottæ, it appears out of Marcellinus, that they were the progeny of those, who, having been formerly excluded by Adrian's wall, but afterwards enlarging their dominions unto the wall of Severus, were comprehended

within the Roman province; because I find in a book of the Romans concerning camp-discipline through their provinces, that, among the foreign auxiliaries, there were some troops of the Attacottæ, as well as of the Britons: which puts me at a stand, whether of the two I should most admire in Lud, his boldness, or his stupidity; his boldness, who affirms, that the Attacottæ were Scots, but without any certain author, or probable conjecture; his stupidity, that, in the very place of Marcellinus, cited by him, he sees not, that the Scots are plainly distinguished from the Attacottæ. For Marcellinus says, the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacottæ, vexed the Britons with perpetual miseries. Of the same stupidity is he guilty, when he affirms, that the Caledonii were of the nation of the Britons; whereas, it is plain, they were Picts, which Lud himself doth clearly demonstrate, by a testimony out a panegyric, spoken to Constantine, which he produces against himself. For, says the author of that oration, *The woods of the Caledones and of other Picts*: that testimony, such was his folly, he produces for himself, not observing that it makes against him. If we look to the word itself, it is Scottish; for Calden in Scotch is that tree called the Hasel, whence, I judge, came the name of the Caledonian woods, and the town of the Caledonians, situate by the river Tay, which is yet called Duncalden, *i. e.* the Hasel-hill town. And if I dared to indulge myself so much liberty, as to disagree from all the books of Ptolemy, for the Deucaledonian, I would write the Duncaledonian sea; and for the Dicaledones in Marcellinus, Duncaledones: both the sea and the nation being surnamed from the town, Duncalden. What I have written may satisfy any favourable reader, yet I shall add other testimonies, which C. Plinius thinks to be manifest signs of the originals of nations, *viz.* the religion, language, and names of towns.

First of all, it is manifest that the bond of religion, and the identity of sentiment as to the (supposed) gods, hath been always held the strictest tie of obligation and alliance, amongst nations. Now; the Britons and the Gauls maintained the same divine worship, they had the same priests, the druids, generally, who were in no nation else; whose superstition had so prevailed in both nations, that many have doubted, which of the two first learned that sort of philosophy, one from the other. Tacitus also says, that they had the same sacred rites and superstitious observances. And that tomb erected near New Carthage, called Mercurius Teutates, as Livy writes, doth shew, that the Spaniards, the greatest part of whom drew their original from the Gauls, were not free from those rites. Also, the same kind of priests or sacrists, called by both of them bards, were in great honour, both amongst the Gauls and Britons. Their function and name doth yet remain amongst all those nations which use the old British tongue; and so much honour is given to them in many places, that their persons are accounted sacred, and their houses, sanctuaries; nay, in the height of their enmities, when

they carry on the cruellest wars, one against another, and use their victories as severely, yet these bards, and their retinue, have free liberty to pass and repass at their pleasure. The nobles, when they come to them, receive them honourably, and dismiss them with gifts. They make cantos, and those not inelegant; which the rhapsodists recite, either to the better sort, or else to the vulgar, who are very desirous to hear them, and sometimes they sing them to musical instruments. Many of their ancient customs yet remain; nay, there is almost nothing changed of them in Ireland, but only in ceremonies and rites of religion. This for the present concerning their religion.

It remains now that we speak concerning their ancient language, and the names of their towns, and of their people. But these parts, though oftentimes distinct in themselves, shall yet be promiscuously handled by me; because many times one depends upon another as its foundation; especially, since a proper name, either by its origin or declination, proves, or at least gives some indication of the country from whence it comes; yet, though these things are interwoven, and do mutually confirm one another, I will, for the reader's instruction, take occasion sometimes to treat of them severally as much as I can.

First of all, Tacitus, in the life of his father-in-law, Agricola, affirms that the Gallic tongue did not much differ from the British; whence I gather, that they were formerly the same; but, by little and little, either by commerce with foreign nations, or by the importation of new commodities, unknown before to the natives, or by the invention of new arts, or by the frequent change of the form of garments, arms, and other furniture, a speech, or language, that was very flexible of itself, might be much altered, sometimes augmented, sometimes adulterated, many new words being found out, and many old ones corrupted. Let a man but think with himself, how much the inconstancy and caprice of the vulgar doth assume to itself in this particular; and how ready men are, and always were, to lothe present things, and to study innovations; he will find the judgment of the best of poets, and the only censor, in these cases, to be the most true,

* *Ut sylvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
Et, juvenum ritu, florent modo nata vigentque.*

*As from the trees old leaves drop off, and die
While others sprout, and a fresh shade supply,
So fare our words——thro' time worn out and dead,
A fresher language rises in their stead.*

And a little after,

Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque

* Hor. de Arte Poetica.

*Quæ nunc sunt in honore, vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi.*

*Many words shall fall
Which now we highly prize:
And words, which now have fallen,
Shall hereafter rise;
Use or custom, rules this thing,
And governs language as a king.*

It is true he spoke this of the Latin tongue, which, by the great care of the Romans, was kept uncorrupted, and which all the nations, contained within the large bounds of their empire, did diligently learn. And therefore it is no wonder, if a language, (even before colonies were sent into all parts out of Gaul,) which already had different dialects at home; and also, was afterwards corrupted by the mixture of divers nations, being in itself somewhat barbarous at first, and neglected by those that used it; and after it had again re-entered from a foreign soil into Britain, which was then divided into kingdoms, for the most part obnoxious to strangers; it is no wonder, I say, if, under all these prejudices, it did not always prove consistent with itself. For at first, the Celtæ and the Belgæ used a different dialect, as Strabo thinks. Afterwards, when the Celtæ sent abroad great colonies into Spain, as the names of Celtiberi and Celtici declare, and the Belgæ made their descent into the maritime parts of Britain, as may be collected from the names of Venta Belgarum, of the Atrebates and Icenî; it must needs follow, that, on one side, the Spaniards, and, on the other, the Romans, the English, the Danes and the Normans must bring many strange words with them, and so corrupt the country speech. Nay, I rather judge it a matter of much more wonder, that the languages of neighbouring nations, having been adulterated by the coming in of so many strange people, and in great part changed by the speech of neighbouring countries, that yet, even so long a time after, the Britons should not differ in their whole language, but in certain idioms and dialects only; for, if any one of them hears a man of another nation speak British, he may observe the sound of his own language, and may understand many words, though he does not comprehend his whole discourse. Neither ought it to seem strange to us, that the same words do not signify the same things in all nations, when we consider what alterations commerce with neighbouring countries daily makes in the speech of all nations; and how great a change of phrases must needs be owing to a daily conversation with foreigners; how many new words are coined to express things newly invented? how many are imported with wares and traffic, even from the farthest parts of the world? how many old obsolete words are disused? how many are lengthened by the addition of letters and syllables? and how many are shortened by contrary curtailments? and some also new formed and refined, as it

were, by mutation or transposition of letters. I will not inquire, in how short a time, and how much the Ionic speech did degenerate from the Attic, and how much the other Greeks differed from them both. Let us but observe the speech of the noblest nations in Europe: how soon did the French, Italian, and Spanish tongues, all derived from the same root, degenerate from the purity of the Latin? yet, in the mean time, they differ no less amongst themselves, than the old Scottish and the British tongues do. Nay, if we look over all the provinces of France, (I mean those that are judged to speak true Gallic or French,) what a great difference shall we find between the inhabitants of Gallia Narbonensis and the Gascoigns? and how vastly the Limosins, the Perigordins, and the Auvergnians, though neighbours to both, yet differ from both in their speech? and how much the rest of the provinces of France differ even from them all? and, to come nearer home, the English laws of William the Norman, established five hundred years ago, were written in French, yet no Frenchman can now understand them without an interpreter. Nay, if those old men, who have lived long in the world, will but recollect how many words are grown obsolete, which were in use when they were children; and and what words, unheard of by our ancestors, have succeeded in their places, they will not at all wonder, that the same original language, in length of time, should be changed, and seem wholly different from itself, especially amongst nations far remote, and also often warring, one against another. On the other side, when I see that concord, lasting so many ages, rather than years, in the British language, and that even amongst nations, either very distant one from another, or else maintaining mutual animosities against one another, as is hardly to be found amongst the many tribes and people of France, who yet have long lived under the same kings and laws: I say, when I recollect within myself, such an agreement in speech, which as yet preserves its ancient affinity of words, and no obscure marks of its original, I am easily induced to believe, that, before the coming of the Saxons, all the Britons used a language not much different from each other; and it is probable, that the people on the Gallic shore used the Belgic tongue, from whose limits a good part of the Britons, bordering on France, had transplanted themselves, as Cæsar informs us. But the Irish, and the colonies sent from them, being derived from the Celtæ, inhabitants of Spain, it is probable they spoke the Celtic tongue. I suppose that these nations, returning, as it were, from a long pilgrimage, and possessing themselves of the neighbour seats, and almost uniting into one people, did confound the idioms of their several tongues into a medley that was neither wholly Belgic, nor wholly Celtic, nor yet wholly unlike to either of them: such a mixture we may observe in those nations, which are thought to speak the German tongue, and yet have much declined from the ancient phrase thereof: I mean the Danes, the maritime Saxons, those of Friesland, those of Flanders, and the

English; amongst all which it is easy to find some letters, sounds, and inflections, which are proper to the Germans only, and not common to any other nation. Besides, I suppose, that a surer symptom of the affinity of languages may be gathered from the sound of letters, from the familiar way of each nation in pronouncing certain letters, and from the judgment of the ear thereupon; and also, from the composition and declension of words, than from the signification of single or particular words!

We find examples of this in the German letter *W*, in the composition of the words *Moremarusa* and *Armoricus*, of which I have spoken before: and in the declension of those words, which amongst the French, end in *ac*, of which there is a vast number; which form among the Scots is hypocoristical, *i. e.* diminutive; and so it was amongst the ancient Gauls. From *drix*, which among the Scots signifies a brier, is derived *drissack*, *i. e.* a brierling, or little brier bush. And from *brix*, which signifies a rupture or cleft, *brixac*, which now the French pronounce *brissac*. For what the Scots pronounce *brix*, that the French call *bresche*, even to this very day, there being no difference at all in the signification of the words: the cause of the different writing, is, that the ancient Scots, and all the Spaniards to this very day, do use the letter *X* for double *SS*. And therefore the old Gauls, from *brix*, called a town of the Cænomani, *Brixia*; and again, from *Brixia*, *Brixiacum*, now commonly *Brisac*. After the like form, *Aureliacum*, *i. e.* *Orilhach*, is derived from *Aurelia*, *i. e.* *Orleans*; and, from *Evora*, which is called *Cerealis*, or *Ebora*, named by the Spaniards, *Fœlicitas Julia*, *Eboracum*, *i. e.* *York*, is derived; as the Brigantes have declined it, (who had their origin from the Spaniards), retaining, in the declension thereof, the propriety of the French tongue. Furthermore, besides those things which I have mentioned, all that coast of Britain, which is extended to the south-west, retains the sure and manifest tokens of a Gallic speech and original, according to the clear testimony even of foreigners themselves. First, in that coast, there is *Cornuwallia*, *i. e.* *Cornwal*, as many call it, but by the ancients it was called *Cornavia*, and by the vulgar *Kernico*; even as in Scotland, the *Cornavii*, placed by Ptolemy in the most northern district of that country, are commonly called *Kernics*; so that *Cornuwallia* is derived from *Kernic* and *Valli*, as if you should say *Kernico-Galli*, *i. e.* *Cornish Gauls*. Moreover, *Vallia*, *i. e.* *Wales*, another peninsula on the same side, doth avouch its ancestors both in name and speech. They who come near in language to the sound of the German tongue, pronounce it by *W*, a letter proper to the Germans only; which the rest of their neighbours, who use the old tone, can by no means pronounce: nay, if you should put them to the torture, to make them pronounce it aright, yet the Cornish, the Irish, or Highland Scots could never do it. But the French, when they speak of *Vallia*, do always prefix *G* before it, *Guallia*; and not in that word alone, but they have many others also, which begin with

G. For they who, by reason of the propinquity of the countries do Germanize, do call the French tongue Walla: and besides in a multitude of other words, they use this change of letters: on the other side, that country which the English call Wales and North-Wales; the French call Gales and Norgales, still adhering to the primitive sounds of their ancient tongue.

But Polydore Virgil pleaseth himself with a new fancy, which he thinks he was the first inventor of; whereas no man, though but meanly skilled in the German tongue, is ignorant, that the word Walsch signifies a stranger or foreigner; and that therefore the Valli were called foreigners by them; but he reckons, as we say, without his host: for, if that name were derived from one's being foreign, I think it would agree better to the Angles or English, as an adventitious people, than to those whom by reason of their antiquity, many of the ancients have thought to be the first inhabitants: or, if that name were imposed upon them by the English, they might with better reason have given it to the Scots and Picts, than to the Britons, because with the former they had less acquaintance and very rare commerce: and if the English called them Valli in reproach, would the Britons, think we, who, for so many ages, were the deadly enemies of the English, and now made more obnoxious to them by this affront, own that name? which they do not unwillingly, calling themselves in their own tongue Cumbri. Besides, the word Walsch among the Germans, doth not primarily signify a stranger or barbarian; but, in its first and proper acceptation, a Gaul. And therefore, in my judgment, the word Vallia is changed by the English from Gallia; they agreeing with other neighbouring nations in the name, but observing the propriety of the German tongue in pronouncing the first letter by *W*, viz. Wallia. The ancient inhabitants of that peninsula were called Silures, as appears out of Pliny; which name in some part of Wales was long retained, in succeeding ages. But Leland, a Briton by birth, and a man very diligent in discovering the monuments of his own country, doth affirm, that some part of Wales was formerly called Ross. Which word in Scotland signifies a peninsula: but the neighbouring nations seem, in speaking, to have used a name or word, which shewed the original of the nation, rather than one that demonstrated the site and form of the country. The same hath happened in the name Scots; for whereas they call themselves Albini, a name derived from Albium; yet their neighbours call them Scoti, by which name their original is declared to be from the Irish, or Hibernians.

On the same side and western shore, follows Gallovidia, *i. e.* Galway; which word, it is evident, both with Scots and Welch, signifieth a Gaul, as being Gallus with the one, and Wallus with the other; for the Valli or Welch call it Wallowithia. This country yet useth for the most part its ancient language. These three nations comprehend all that tract and side of Brittany, which bends toward Ireland; and they as yet retain no mean indications, but re-

ther strong and convincing marks of their Gallic speech and affinity; of which the chief is, that the ancient Scots divided all nations inhabiting Britain, into two sorts, the one they call Gael, the other Galle or Gald, *i. e.* according to my interpretation, Galæci and Galli. Moreover, the Galæcians please themselves with that title, Gael, and they call their language, as I said before, Galæcian, and do glory in it, as the more refined and elegant, undervaluing the Galli as barbarians, in respect of themselves. And though originally the Scots called the Britons, *i. e.* the most ancient inhabitants of the island, Galli, yet the custom of speaking hath by degrees obtained, that they called all the nations, which afterwards fixed their seats in Britain, by that name, which they used rather as a contumelious, than a national appellation: for the word Galle or Gald signifies the same amongst them, which barbarian doth amongst the Greeks and Latins, and Walsch among the Germans.

Now at last we are come to this point, that we are to demonstrate the community of speech, and thereupon an ancient affinity between the Gauls and the Britons, from the names of towns, rivers, countries, and such other evidences. A ticklish subject, and to be warily handled; for I have formerly proved, that a public speech or language may be altered for many causes; for though it be not changed altogether, and at once, yet it is in a perpetual flux, and doth easily follow the inconstancy of the alterers, by reason of a certain flexibility, which it hath in its own nature. The truth whereof doth appear chiefly in those ranks of things, which are subject not only to the alterations of time, but also to every man's pleasure or caprice; such as are all particular things invented for the daily use of man's life, whose names either grow obsolete, or are made new and refined, for very light and trivial causes. But the case is far different in those things, which are time-proof, and so, after a sort, are perpetual or eternal. As the heavens, the sea, the earth, fire, mountains, countries, rivers; and also in those, which, by their durability, as far as the infirmity of nature will permit, do in some sort imitate those perpetual and uncorrupted bodies; such are towns, which are built as if they were to last for ever. So that a man cannot easily give new names to, or change the old names of, nations or cities; for they were not rashly imposed at the beginning, but in a manner by the general wise advice and consent of their founders, whom antiquity did greatly reverence, ascribing divine honours to them; and did as much as lay in their power to render them immortal. And therefore, these names are deservedly continued, and can receive no alteration without making a mighty disturbance in the whole economy of things: so that if the rest of a language be changed, yet these are religiously retained, and are never supplanted by other names, but as it were, with unwillingness and regret. And the cause of their imposing at first, contributes much to their continuance. For those, who, in their peregrinations, either were forced from their old seats, or, of their own accord, sought new, when

they had lost their own country, yet retained the name of it, and were willing to enjoy a sound most pleasing to their ears; and by this umbrage of a name, such as it was, the want of their native soil was somewhat alleviated and softened unto them; so that by this means they judged themselves not altogether exiles or travellers, far from home. And besides, there were not wanting some persons, who, being religiously inclined, conceived an holier and more august representation in their minds, than could be seen in walls and houses, and did sweetly hug, as it were, that image and delightful pledge of their own former country, with a love more than native. And therefore, a surer argument of affinity may be taken from this sort of words, than from those, which, on trivial causes, and oft on none at all, are given to, or taken away from, ordinary and changeable things. For though it may casually happen, that the same word may be used in several countries, yet it is not credible, that so many nations, living so far asunder, should agree by mere chance in the frequent imposing of the same name.

In the next place, those names succeed, which are derived from, or compounded of, the former primitives. For, oftentimes, the similitude of declination and composition doth more certainly declare the affinity of a language, than the very primitive words themselves; for these are, many times, casually given: but the other, being declined after one certain mode and form, are directed by one fixed example, which the Greeks call *Ἀναλογία*. And therefore this certain and perpetual manner of nominal affinity, as Varro speaks, doth, after a sort, lead us to an affinity of stock, and old communion of language. Moreover, there is a certain observation to be made in all primogenial words, from whence we may know, which are introduced from abroad, and which are native. For, as the words *philosophia*, *geometria*, and *dialectica*, though often used by Latin writers, yet have scarce any Latin word of kin to them, or derived from them, from whence they may seem to take their original; so, on the other side, the words *paradisus* and *gaza*, are used by the Greeks; and yet it appears by this, that they are perfectly foreign, because they cannot shew any words they were originally derived from, nor any words that were afterwards derived from them, in the genuine Greek tongue.

The same observation may also be made in other tongues, which will help us to judge, what words are domestic, and what are adventitious, or foreign. Let it suffice to have spoken thus much in general; let us now propound examples, concerning every particular part: where, first, we meet with those words, which end in *bria*, *briga*, and *brica*. Strabo, in his seventh book, with whose opinion Stephanus concurs, says, that *bria* signifies a city; to confirm their opinion, they produce these names, derived from that one word Pultobria, Brutobria, Mesembria, and Selimbria. But the place by them called Brutobria, by others is named Brutobrica; and the places which Ptolemy makes to end in *briga*, Pliny closes with *brica*; so

that it is probable, that *bria*, *briga*, and *brica*, signify the same thing. But that they all have their original from Gaul, appears by this, that the Gauls are reported, anciently, to have sent forth colonies into Thrace and Spain, and not they into Gaul; and therefore, amongst proper classic authors, we usually read the words following.

Abobrica in Pliny, in the circuit of Braga.

Amola-brica in the Itinerary of the emperor Antoninus.

Arabrica, Pliny, in the Bracarenian circuit also.

Arabrica, another, Ptolemy, in Lusitania, or Portugal.

Arcobrica, Ptolemy, amongst the Celtiberians, *i. e.* New-Castilians.

Arcobrica, another, Ptolemy, amongst the Lusitanian Celts.

Arcobrica, a third, in the Cæsar Augustan province.

Artobrica, Ptolemy, in the Vindilicis country.

Augustobrica, Pliny, and Ptolemy, in Portugal.

Augustobrica, another, Ptolemy, in the Vectons country.

Augustobrica, a third, Ptolemy, in the Pelendons country.

Axabrica, Pliny, of the Lusitanians.

Bodobrica, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and in the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire, in High Germany.

Brige, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, in Britanny.

Brige, in Strabo, a town by the Cottian Alps.

Brutobrica, in Strabo, between the Turduli and the river Bætis.

Cæliobrica, Ptolemy, of the Celerini, *i. e.* people in Portugal.

Cæsarobrica, Pliny, in Portugal, also.

Catobrica, of the Turduli, in the Itinerary of the emperor Antoninus.

Corimbrica, Pliny, in Portugal: but if I mistake not, corruptly for Conimbrica, of which mention is made in the Itinerary of Antoninus, which city, as yet, keeps its ancient name, by the river Munda, in Portugal.

Cotteobrica, Ptolemy, in the Vectons country.

Deobrica, Ptolemy, among the Vectons also.

Deobrica, another, Ptolemy, of the Autrigones.

Deobricula, Ptolemy, of the Morbogi.

Dessobrica, not far distant from Lacobrica, in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Flaviobrica, Pliny, at the port Amanus. Ptolemy, in the Autrigones, calls it Magnus; but I know not whether Magnus ought to be writ in Pliny, or no.

Gerabrica in the Scalabitan province, which Pliny writes Jerabrica.

Juliobrica, in Pliny, and in the Itinerary of Antoninus of the Cantabrians, or Biscainers, heretofore called Brigantia.

Lacobrica, in the Vaccæis country, in Pliny, Ptolemy, and Festus Pompeius.

Lacobrica, at the sacred promontory, in Mela.

Lancobrica, of the Lusitanic Celti, Ptolemy.

Latobrigi, near to the Switzers, Cæsar.

Medubrica, surnamed Plumbaria, by Pliny, in Portugal; this, if I mistake not, is called Mundobrica, in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Merobrica, surnamed Celtica, in Portugal; Pliny, and Ptolemy.

Mirobrica, in the country of the Oretani.

Mirobrica, another, in Beturia, or, in the country of the Turditanæ Boetici, Pliny, and Ptolemy.

Nemetobrica, in the country of the Lusitanic Celts, Ptolemy.

Nertobrica, in the Turdulis country of Boetia, Ptolemy.

Nertobrica, another, in the Celtiberians country, Ptolemy, which, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, is called Nitobrica.

Segobrica, in the Celtiberians country, Pliny, but Ptolemy counts it the head city of Celtiberia.

Talabrica, in Lusitania, Pliny, and Ptolemy.

Turobrica in the Celts country of Boetia, Pliny.

Tuntobrica amongst the Bracarean Galæci, Ptolemy.

Vertobrica, surnamed Concordia Julia, Pliny, in the Celt-Boeticks country.

Volobrica, of the Nemetes, Ptolemy.

Very many names of towns and nations seem to belong to this class, in all the provinces into which the Gauls distributed colonies; for as Burgundus and Burgundio seem to be derived from Burgo; so doth Brigantes from Briga. The nominative case of this word, in Stephanus, is Brigas, whence we decline Brigantes; as we do Gigantes, from Gigas. The Brigantes, according to Strabo, are situate by the Cottian Alps; and, in the same tract, is the village or town Brige. And the Brigani, in the trophy of Augustus, are reckoned amongst the Alpin nations. Brigantium is an Alpin town; and the Brigantii are in the country of the Vindelici, according to Strabo; and Brigantia, in the journal of Antoninus; and the mountain Briga (Ptolemy) is near the fountains of the Rhone and Danube. Also Brigantium in Rhætia, (Ptolemy) is the same town, I suppose, which in the book of the *Knowledge of the Provinces of the People of Rome*, is called Brecantin, and the Brigantine lake. And in Ireland are the Brigantes, (Ptolemy:) the Brigantes are also in Albium, (Ptolemy, Tacitus, and Seneca.) And the town Brige or Brage, and Isobrigantium, in the journal of Antoninus. And the town Brigantium, in Orosius, by the Celtic promontory, and Flaviobrigantium, or Besançon, in Ptolemy, in the Great Port; and a later Brigantia, *i. e.* Braganza, now in the kingdom of Portugal.

There is also another class or rank of words, which do either begin in *dunum*, or end therewith; which is a Gallic word, as appears by those heaps of sand of the Morini, as yet called Duni, or the Downs; and those other heaps of sand in the sea over against

them in the English shore, which retain the same name of Downs. Yea, Plutarch, (I mean he who wrote the book of rivers,) in declaring the original of Lugdunum, *i. e.* Lions, acknowledges *dunum* to be a Gallic word. And indeed in expressing the names of villages and towns, there is scarce any one word or termination more frequent than that amongst the nations, who yet preserve the old Gallic tongue almost entire; I mean the Britons in Gallia Celtica; and the ancient Scots in Ireland and Albium; and the Valli or Welch; the Kernicovalli, or Cornish in England; for there is none of those nations, which do not challenge that word or termination for their own; only here is the difference, that the old Gauls did end their compound words with *dunum*, but the Scots ordinarily place it in the beginning of words: Of this sort there are found,

In France,

Augustodunum of the Ædui or Burgundians.

Castellodunum, of the Carnotensian province, *i. e.* of Chartres.

Melodunum, by the river Sequana, or Sein.

Lugdunum, at the confluence of the rivers Arar and Rhone.

Augustodunum, another Autun, of the Aiverni, or Auvergenois and Clermontians, Ptolemy.

Lugdunum, of the Conveni, or Comingeois, near the river Garonne, Ptolemy.

Novidunum, in the Tribocci's country, Ptolemy.

Uxellodunum, in Cæsar.

Juliodunum in the Picton's country, *i. e.* Poitiers.

Isodunum, and Regiodunum, of the Bituriges, *i. e.* inhabitants of Berry.

Laodunum, or Laudunum, in the county of Rheims.

Cæsarodunum, Ptolemy, of the Turones, *i. e.* Tourenois.

Segodunum, of the Ruthenians, Ptolemy.

Velannodunum (or St. Flour) in Cæsar.

In Spain.

Caladunum, Ptolemy, of the Bracari, or Braganzians.

Sebendunum, Ptolemy.

In Britain.

Camulodunum, of the Brigantes country, Ptolemy.

Camulodunum, a Roman colony, Tacitus.

Dunum, a town of the Durotriges, or Dorsetshire men, Ptolemy.

Maridunum Demetarum, *i. e.* Caermarthen of the Demetæ, Ptolemy, and the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Rigodunum, of the Brigantes, Ptolemy, *i. e.* Ribchester in Lancashire.

Cambodunum, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, *i. e.* Ruins near Almonbury in Yorkshire.

Margidunum, in the same Itinerary, *i. e.* Margedoverton in Leicestershire, near Belvoir Castle; or, as some, Leicester itself.

Sorviodunum, or Sorbiodunum, in the same Itinerary; *i. e.* Old Sarum in Wiltshire.

Segodunum, *i. e.* Seton in Northumberland; and Axelodunum, *i. e.* Hexham in Northumberland also, in the book of the *notitia Romani imperii*, or *knowledge of the Roman empire*, &c.

Later towns in England.

Venantodunum, *i. e.* Huntington.

Dunelmum, *i. e.* Durham.

In Scotland.

Duncaledon, called also Caledonia, *i. e.* Dunkelden.

Deidunum, *i. e.* Dundee, or rather Taodunum, by the river Tay.

Edinodunum, which word the ancient Scots do yet retain, but they who Germanize, had rather call it Edinburgh.

Dunum, a town in Ireland, called Down.

Noviodunum, or New Down, *i. e.* Dunmore castle in Cowal.

Brittannodunum, *i. e.* Dumbritton or Dumbarton, at the confluence of the Clyde and Leven.

And, at this day, there are innumerable names of castles, villages, and hills compounded with *dunum*.

In Germany, these names are read in Ptolemy.

Lugdunum, *i. e.* Leyden; Segodunum, *i. e.* Nuringburgh; Taro-dunum, *i. e.* Friburgh; Robodunum, *i. e.* Brin; Carrodunum, *i. e.* Crainburgh.

In the Alps country.

Ebrodunum and Sedunum.

In the Vindelici, or Bavarians country, in Rhætia, the Grisons country, and Noricum.

Cambodunum, Corrodunum, Gesodunum, Idunum, and Noviodunum; and in the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire, Parrodunum, *i. e.* Partenkirk.

In Sarmatia and Dacia, according to Ptolemy.

Corrodunum, Singindunum, by the Danow; Noviodunum at the mouth of the Danow; also another Noviodunum.

And there are, in the same provinces, not a few words declined from Dur, which, among the old Gauls and Britons, signifies water, and as yet retains the same signification amongst some, as there are

In France.

Durocotti in the Rhemish Circuit, Ptolemy; we read them also called Durocorti; moreover, Cæsar makes mention of Divodurum, of the Mediomatrics. Tacitus, Divodurum, near Paris; in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Batavodurum amongst the Batavi, Ptolemy, Tacitus. Breviodurum in the Itinerary of the Emperor Antoninus. Gannodurum in Ptolemy near the Rhine. Gannodurum in the

Helvetians Country, Ptolemy. Octodurum, or Octodorus, amongst the Veragri, Cæsar.

In Rhætia, the Vindelicis Country, and Noricum.

Bragodurum, Carrodurum, Ebodurum, Gannodurum, and Octodurum, Ptolemy. Venaxamodurum and Bododurum, in the book of the knowledge of the provinces.

In Spain.

Octodurum, and Ocellodurum, Ptolemy: The river Durius flowing into the ocean, and Duria into the Mediterranean sea, and in Ireland, the river Dur; Ptolemy.

In Britain.

Durocibrivæ, Duroprovæ, Durolenum, Durovernum, Durolipont, Durotriges, Durocornovium, Durolitum, Duronovaria, Lactodurum.

Perhaps, the two Alpine rivers, Doria the greater and the less, (the one running into the Po, through the Salassians country; the other, through the Piedmontois), do belong to the same original; and also Issidorus, and Altissidorus, cities of France, so called (as I judge) from their situation near rivers. To which Dureta may be referred, which word in Spanish signifies a *wooden throne*, as Suetonius writes in the life of Augustus; the like may be said of Domnacus, the proper name of a man in Cæsar, which seems to be corrupted from Dunacus; for Dunach may signify Dunan and Dunensis both; as Romach doth Romanus. Dunacus, or rather Dunachus, is yet used for the proper name of a man, which those who are ignorant of both tongues, the Latin and the British, do render (but amiss) sometimes Duncan, sometimes Donat.

The word Magus also in all the provinces, in which the public use of the Gallic tongue obtained, is very frequent in expressing the names of cities; which shews that it was of a Gallic original. But of the derivatives from it, we may rather guess, than affirm for certain, that they were wont to signify a house, city, or any building. We read in the book of the knowledge of the empire of the people of Rome, the prefect of the Pacensian levies, in garrison at Magi; and also in the same book the tribune of the second cohort placed at Magni; we read also of Magni in the Itinerary of Antoninus, I dare not positively assert, whether it be one town or many. But I incline, of the two, rather to think that they were sundry towns.

Towns ending in *magus* are these, Noviomagus, in Ptolemy, amongst the Santons; Noviomagus of the Lexovi; Noviomagus of the Vadecassi; Noviomagus, of the Nemetes; Noviomagus of the Tricassini; Noviomagus of the Bituriges; Juliomagus of the Andegavi; Rotomagus of the Venclocassi; Cæsaromagus of the Bellovaci; Rotomagus of the Nervii; Borbetomagus of the Vangiones in High Germany; Vindomagus of the Volci Arecomici. Also in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Argentomagus; and in High Germany,

Noviomagus. In the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire, Noviomagus of Belgica Secunda; in Rhætia, Drusomagus, Ptolemy. In Britain, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Cæsaromagus; Sitomagus: Noviomagus of the Regni; Vacomagi; Magiovinium; Vicomagi, part of the Picts country, Ptolemy.

There are also other names of places, common to many of these nations, but not so frequently used, nor so far extended as the former; such as are Hibernia, *i. e.* Ireland, amongst the Romans, the name of an island, called by Pomponius Mela, Ptolemy and Juvenal, Juverna; by Strabo, Claudian, and the inhabitants thereof, Jerna. That which some call the Nerian promontory, Strabo calls Jerne; Jernus, or Jern, a river of Gallæcia, Mela calls it Jerna; Jernus is also a river of Ireland; in Ptolemy it is reckoned a river of Scotland falling into Tay. Another of the same name glides through Murray; the country adjacent to both is called Jerna.

We read of the city Mediolanum, in Ptolemy, as one Insubrum of the Santones; another of the Aulerci Eburaici; another by the Loir, *i. e.* Menu; a fourth by Sequana, or the Sein, now (as I think) named Meulan, or Melun; another in High Germany called Asciburgium; another by the Danube; another in Britain, of which mention is made in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Also Marcolica, a town in Spain; Macolica, in Ireland; Vaga, a river in Portugal, and another of Wales in England. Avo, in Mela, Avus, in Ptolemy, a river of Gallæcia, as yet retains its name. In Argyle there is also a river of the same name, flowing out of the Loch Awe. The Promontorium Sacrum, one is in Spain, another in Ireland. Ocellum is a promontory in Britain; Ocellum is also in Gallæcia, in the Lucensian district; Ocelli are mountains in Scotland; Ocellum is the last town of Gallia Togata; Cæsar mentions Uxellum, a town in Britain, perhaps for Ocellum; for Martianus, in explaining the ancient names of the cities of Gallia, says, that the word is variously wrote, Ocellum, Oscela, and Oscellum; hence perhaps comes Uxellodunum, which is also sometimes wrote Uxellodurum. So there is Tamar, a river of Gallæcia, Ptolemy; Tamaris, in Mela; Tamarici, a people of Gallæcia; the river Tamarus, Pliny; and Tamara, a town in Britain.

Sars, a river of Gallæcia, Ptolemy; Sarcus, in Scotland, Mela.

Ebora, a town of Portugal, called Liberalitas Julia, in Pliny and Ptolemy; Eburia, that which is Cerealis in Bœtica, in Pliny is E-bora; Ptolemy mentions Aulerci Eburaici in Gallia Celtica, and also Eboracum, *i. e.* York, of the British Brigantes.

Deva, now Dee, a river of England; and three in Scotland, so called, one in Galloway, another in Angus, the third divides Mearns from Marr.

The Cornavii, in England, are in the farthest part of the west; in Scotland, they are the farthest north. Both of them are now called Kernici; there seems also to have been a third sort of Kernici in Scotland, at the mouth of the river Avenus, or Even, which

is the boundary between the coast of Lothian and Stirling. For Bede makes the monastery of Abercorn to be at the end of Severus' wall, where now the ruins of the castle of Abercorn do appear. Aven is often read, a river both of England and Scotland. Aven in Scottish, and Evon, in Welsh, signifies a river.

Of the three nations which first inhabited this island, after the coming of Cæsar, the Britons were subject to the emperors of Rome successively, little less than five hundred years; but the Scots and Picts were under their own kings. At length, when all the neighbouring nations did conspire for the destruction of the Romans, they recalled their armies from their most remote provinces, to maintain their empire at home. And, by this means, the Britons being destitute of foreign aid, were miserably vexed by the Scots and Picts; insomuch, that they craved aid of the Saxons, who then infested the seas with a piratical navy. But that project cost them dear. For the Saxons having repelled the Picts and Scots, being tempted by the fertility of the country, and the weakness of the inhabitants, aspired to make themselves masters of the island. But after various successes in war, seeing they could not arrive at what they aimed at by force, they resolved to attempt the Britons by fraud. Their stratagem was this. There being a conference, or treaty, agreed upon at a set day and place, between the nobles of both parties; the Saxons having a sign given them by Hengist, their captain, slew all the British nobility, and drove the common people into rugged and mountainous places, so that they themselves possessed all the champaign, and divided the fruitfulness part of the island between them, into seven kingdoms. This was the state of affairs in Britain about the year 464. And whereas three German nations did originally undertake expeditions into Britain, the other two, by degrees, passed into the name of Englishmen. But neither the peace made with the Britons, nor with the English amongst themselves, was ever faithfully observed for 317 years together; when the Danes, being powerful at sea, did first molest England with piratical incursions; but being valiantly repulsed, about thirty-six years after, they came with greater forces, and made a descent into the country with a land army. At the first conflict they were victors, but afterwards they contended with the English with various successes, till, in the year 1012, Swain, having wholly subdued the Britons, by their public consent obtained the kingdom, which remained but a few years in his family. For the Saxons having again created kings of their own nation, about twenty-four years after were overcome by William the Norman, most of their nobility being slain, and their lands divided among the Normans, by which means the common people were kept in a miserable slavery, till Henry VII.'s time, who, easing part of their burden, made the condition of the commonalty a little more tolerable. But those which are in favour with the king, or would seem to be truly illustrious and noble, do all derive themselves from the Normans.

These are the discoveries which I have been able to make, out of ancient writings, and other no obscure indications, concerning the original, customs, and language of the three ancientest nations in Britain; all which induce me to believe, that the old Britons, and the other inhabitants of Britain, were derived from the Gauls, and did originally use the Gallic speech; of which many signs very manifestly appear, both in France and Britain. Neither ought it to seem strange, if, in language which admits of a change each moment of our life, many things receive different names in divers places, especially in such a length of time; nay, we may rather admire, that the same foundation of language, (if I may so speak), and the same manner of declension and derivation, do yet continue amongst people, far remote one from another, and seldom agreeing together in converse of life; nay, being often at mortal feuds one with another.

Concerning the other three nations, the Angles, Danes, and Normans, we need make no solicitous inquiry; seeing the times and causes of their coming are known almost to all. But I have entered upon this task, that I might restore us to our ancestors, and our ancestors to us; if I have performed this well, I have no reason to repent of a little labour, though spent in none of the greatest concerns; if not, yet, they who concur not with me in opinion, cannot (I believe) disallow or blame my good will. And I am so far from grudging or taking it ill, to have what I have written, refuted, that if any man can discover greater certainty, and convince me of my mistake, I shall return him great thanks for his pains.

I had resolved to put an end to this disquisition, concerning the original of the nations of Britain, if Llod had not called me back, even against my will, who maintains, that the Scots and the Picts came but lately into Albion. Though I might, without any offence, pass by the empty vanity of the man, joined with his ignorance; yet, lest the faction of the unlearned, should too much pride themselves in such a patron, I thought fit, in a few words, to manifest the obstinacy of the man, and that principally from those arguments and testimonies, which he himself produceth against us.

First, I will speak concerning his manner of reasoning, and afterwards of the matter itself.

Julius Cæsar (says he) and Cornelius Tacitus, writers of so great exactness; as also Suetonius, Herodian, and other Romans, who wrote of British affairs, have, in no part of their works, made mention of Scots or Picts; and therefore doubtless they had no seats in Britain, in that age. Wilt thou accept of this condition, Llod, that what nation no ancient writer hath mentioned, never any such nation was in being? If you embrace this motion, see how many nations you will exclude from their beings in one or two lines? how great a table of prescriptions will you make? Nay, what great persons will you proscribe, Brutus, Albanactus, and Camber? What nations will you wholly eradicate, the Loegri, the Cambri, the Al-

bani, according to thy postulatam, who art a tyrant in history, and grammar both, as declining Albanus from Albanactus. But if that condition proffered, do not please,

——— *Quia tu gallina filius alba,
Nos viles pulli, nati infelicibus ovis.*

*Since you're the brood of pullen with white legs,
Plebeian chickens we hatch'd out of refuse eggs.*

I will propound another to you, and such a one too, as you ought not, and, I think, dare not refuse. There is a certain kind of proof to be drawn from fragments, by which, if you harden your forehead a little, you may prove any thing. I am the more inclined to make use of this way of proof, because you seem to love it most of all, as proving, forsooth, out of a fragment known, I believe, to thyself alone, that an innumerable multitude of the Cimbri issued forth to destroy the Roman empire. I will, therefore, show you, out of a fragment, that the Scots and Picts were in Britain before Vespasian's reign, which you deny. In that book, to which you have given the title of *Fragmentum Britannicæ Descriptionis, i. e. A Fragment of the Description of Britain*; for this special reason, I believe, because you thought yourself to have sufficiently proved out of one of the two fragments, that the island was rather to be called Pritania, than Britannia; and out of the other, that you had disgorged such a multitude of Cimbri, as your Britain could not contain; for this cause, you thought that your fragment would get credit enough on that single account. In that book, you write that the names of Scots and Picts, together with the Franks and English, or Angles, were well known to the Roman world; and as a witness of this opinion, a meet one indeed, he produced Mamertinus in the panegyric spoken by him to Maximianus; which witness, if I understand him aright, makes against Ludd. For Mamertinus, speaking of the first coming of Julius Cæsar into Britain, hath these words, “Moreover, the nation, as yet rude, and “*Soli Britanni*, accustomed to none but the arms of the Irish “Picts, their half-naked enemies, did easily yield to the arms and “ensigns of the Romans.” See, I pray, what Ludd would infer out of this testimony; first, that the Britons alone did then inhabit the island; next, that the people there named Hiberni or Irish, were afterwards called Scots; but the author of the panegyric doth assert neither of the two. For he affirms, that before the coming in of Cæsar, the Britons waged war against the Scots and Picts of the British soil, *i. e.* enemies dwelling in the British soil, so that *Soli Britanni* is the genitive, and not the nominative case. The other he falsely assumes to himself; for I think I have sufficiently demonstrated out of Paulus Orosius, a Spaniard, and Bede an Englishman, that all the inhabitants of Ireland were anciently called Scots; and then, at length, when they sent colonies into Albium, the name

of Scots was almost extinguished at home, and began to grow famous abroad. In another place, he contends that the Caledonii were called Britons, grounding his assertion on no other argument, than that he finds they were called Britons, which is a name common to all who inhabit the same island. But I have shewed before, out of the place of the panegyric quoted by him, that the Caledonians were Picts; Marcellinus affirms the same thing, who says, that there are two sorts of Picts, the Dicaledones, or, as I think it ought to be writ, the Duncaledones, and the Vecturiones. But the Caledonii, or Caledones, dwelt in Britain before the reign of Vespasian; neither were they unknown to the Romans, as Lucan plainly shews, who died in Nero's time.

*Aut vaga cum Tethys, Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.*

*When raging seas on Sandwich shores do beat,
They never shake the Caledonian seat.*

But why do I trouble myself to procure foreign witnesses, seeing we have a clear and convincing one at home? I mean Bede, the writer of the ecclesiastical history of England; for he takes notice of the order, and almost of the very moments of time, wherein foreign nations came over into Britain. These are his words in his first book. "First of all, the island was inhabited by Britons, " whence it hath its name, who, from the Armoric tract, as it is " reported, sailing over into Britain, possessed the south parts of it, " and having seized upon the greatest part of the island, beginning " from the south; it happened that the nation of the Picts, coming " (as it is reported) out of Scythia, and entering into the ocean, " with long ships, or galleys, but not many, were by stress of wind " and weather, driven beyond all the bounds of Britanny into Ireland." And, a few lines after, he says, "Wherefore the Picts, " coming into Britain, begun to settle themselves in the north parts " of the island; the southern being possessed by the Britons." And at length, after a few lines more, he adds, "In process of time, " Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, took in a third nation " of Scots, as part of the Picts." Then, after many passages, he subjoins, "But the same Britain was inaccessible and unknown to " the Romans until the time of C. Julius Cæsar." Whosoever thou art who readest these passages, observe, I pray, whence, at what time, and in what order this author, much more ancient and grave than Ludd, doth affirm that these nations entered Britain, viz. that the Britons, from the Armoric tract entered first, but the time not certain: that the Picts, out of Scythia, came next into those parts of Britain which were yet uninhabited, and that not long after the entrance of the Britons, who were not as yet increased into such a multitude, as to be able to inhabit the whole island. What then becomes of the Scots? When came they into Britain?

In process of time, says he, viz. the Picts granting them the uninhabited seats in their districts, they came after the two former. So the Britons, as Bede affirms, came into this island out of Armorica in France, and, not long after, the Picts out of Scythia; both of them seized on the vacant and uninhabited places: at last, the island being divided betwixt them, the Scots entered not by force, but were admitted into the portion and lot of the Picts, and that long before Britain was known to the Romans. Here, how will you deal with Ludd? who produces Gildas and Bede, as witnesses to his fables, viz. that the Scots and the Picts did first of all fix their habitations in Britain, in the reign of the Roman emperor Honorius, in the year of Christ 420; of which two, Gildas makes nothing for him; and Bede doth evidently convict him of falsehood. But let the reader believe neither Ludd nor me, but his own eyes; and let him diligently weigh the places of each writer. But (says he) Dion calls the Caledonians, Britanni; I grant he doth, so doth Lucan, as I noted before, and also Martial, in that verse:

Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure Britannos;

The Caledonians, which in Briton be,

Quintus Ovidius is about to see.

But none of them therefore deny them to be Picts; yet they have good reason to call them Britons: For, as the whole island is called Britain, so all its inhabitants are deservedly called Britons. For all the inhabitants of the isle of Sicily are generally called by the Romans, Sicilians, without any difference, though they themselves call one another, some Sicilians; others Siciliotes: So the possessors of Britain are, by foreigners, all called Britons; but they themselves often call the ancient inhabitants Britons, and the other people of different nations living there, sometimes by the private names of the countries, whence they came, and sometimes by the common name of Britons. Wherefore the Caledonians, Picts and Scots, are sometimes called, each nation by its own name, yet all of them, not seldom, by the general term, Britons. But Britons, of which I have spoken, no man ever gave them that appellation.

There is also another difference amongst them, to be observed in the word Britannia: as there is amongst the Greeks and Latins in the word Asia. For Asia sometimes denotes the third part of the habitable world, and sometimes it is taken for that part of the greater Asia, which is situate on this side the mountain Taurus, and is wont to be called Asia the less. So Britain is sometimes used for the name of the whole island in general; and at other times, only for that part of it, which was subjected to the Romans, which part was bounded sometimes by the river Humber, and sometimes by the wall of Adrian, and sometimes by the wall of Severus; and the inhabitants of this part, are by British writers more usually called Brittons, than Britons; but the other persons liv-

ing in the island, *i. e.* the Scots and the Picts, were called by Bede sometimes Britons, and sometimes strangers and foreigners; we may also find the same remarkable difference in Geoffry of Monmouth, and William of Malmsbury. And therefore the Caledonians will be counted Brittons, never a jot the more, for being styled Britons by Dion, Martial, Lucan, or any other good author, than the Brutians will be Romans, though both of them are Italians. If Ludd had taken notice of these things, he had never involved himself in such dark labyrinths, nor had he so rashly and inconsiderately made a positive determination in a point so obscure, nor had denied the Caledonians to have been Picts, because they are termed by Dion, Britons. Neither hath Ludd any just cause to wonder, that no writer more ancient than Ammianus Marcellinus, and Claudian, hath made mention of the Scots and Picts, though they lived so many, I will not say years, but ages in Britain. For, not to speak of the Valli, Cambri, Loegri, names lately known to the world, I may ask him, why, since so many Greek and Latin writers have written of the affairs of Greece, yet no Grecian once names his countrymen Græci; nor no Latin author calls them Hellenes? Why did the names of the nations which I mentioned but now, creep so late into the history of Britain, which that Cambro-Briton makes to be so ancient? If you ask any Englishman, of what country he is, none will answer, that he is a Saxon; yet the Scots, Picts, Irish, both the Britons, *i. e.* these that inhabit Britain, and those who dwell in France, do still unanimously call them Saxons. Why do not the old Scots, even to this very day, acknowledge and own the name of Scots? It ought not then to seem absurd to any man, if, when the Romans asked their captives, of what nation they were; one said a Mocatian, another an Attacottian, a third a Caledonian; and the names which foreign nations received from them they still retained, and used in their common public discourse; neither, as I judge, will it seem incredible, that some names are more known to historians and strangers, and others to the inhabitants of the country. Though the premises make it sufficiently appear, that the coming of the Scots and Picts into Britain, is not only more ancient than Ludd will grant it to be; nay, that it was but a little later than the Britons themselves coming into it, yet I shall add other, and those no contemptible, conjectures. The Brigantes, a great and powerful nation, were seated beyond the river Humber, about York, and possessed the whole breadth of the island between the two seas; it is probable that they came not from the tract of France, which was nearest; for no Brigantes are said to have inhabited there, but out of Spain, first into Ireland, and from Ireland into Britain, as being a neighbouring island to it; neither doth this differ from the conjecture of Cornelius Tacitus, which he makes concerning the *ancient inhabitants* of the *isle*. If the Brigantes came from Ireland, then they must be of Scottish race, as all the rest of the inhabitants of Ireland were. Seneca also seems to confirm this

opinion, in that elegant satire of his, concerning the death of Claudius, in these words;

*Ille Britannos ultra noti littora ponti,
Et cæruleos Scutabrigantes dare Romuleis
Colla catenis jussit, & ipsum nova Romane
Jura securis tremere oceanum.*

*He, Britains, which beyond known seas did dwell,
And blue Scutabrigantes did compel
Rome's yoke to bear. The ocean widely spread,
His government, and his new laws, did dread.*

In these verses, Joseph Scaliger, the son of Julius, is of opinion, that for Scutabrigantes, we ought to read Scotobrigantes. Of how great learning and judgment that young man is; of what industry in comparing ancient writers; and of what acuteness in finding out the meaning of obscure passages, the works that he has published do declare. At present I shall only say, that having undertaken to illustrate the affairs of Britain, I thought his criticism was not to be omitted; and I will declare in few words, why I think it to be true. For since we read in Cæsar, and other authors, eminent both for accuracy and knowledge, that the Britons were wont to paint their bodies with woad; and in Herodian, that they used narrow shields in war, (such as Livy ascribes to the Asiatic Gauls), and no great ornament in their arms; it seemed absurd, to make mention of the shield, which was not painted, the mention of the body, which was painted, being omitted. Now the old Britons were painted not for comeliness, as several other nations were; but that their bluish colour might render them more terrible to their enemies in fight; but how that colour could appear terrible in a narrow shield, I do not understand. And therefore it is very probable, that that learned man, and skilful in British affairs, as who, according to Dion, “kept the whole island under the oppression of usury,” wrote the word Scotobrigantes, that he might distinguish them from the other Brigantes, both Spanish and Gallic. It makes also for the same purpose, that in those verses he separates the Britons and Brigantes, as two different nations, which is also done by some British writers, who make Humber to be the boundary of Britain. This matter not being well considered by Hector Boetius, as I judge, led him into a mistake; who having somewhere read, that the Silures and Brigantes were called Scoti, as having their original from Ireland, placed them in part of the kingdom of the Scots, in Albium. His mistake, though it might justly offend others, yet ought not to have been so severely censured by Ludd, who hath committed as great mistakes in the same kind; for he makes the Cumbri, or (as they call themselves) Cumri, to issue out of a corner of Britain, to plunder the whole world: for he infers from one or two words, common to them both, that the Cimbri and Britanni were of one nation. Those words are Moremarusa and Trimarchia;

where it is worth the while to take notice of the man's acuteness in disputing, and of his subtilty in drawing inferences and conclusions. This word *Moremarusa*, says he, is a British word, but it was once a *Cimbric* one, and no nation's else, which dwelt near the *Baltic* sea. But since our countrymen use the same word, and are called by the same name with those other *Cimbri*; therefore, sure, both were of the same stock and nation.

In this matter, first, he affirms falsehoods for truths, and also takes uncertainties for certainties. For it is a manifest untruth, that both of them are called *Cimbri*, even if *Ludd* himself be a witness, who affirms, that all the inhabitants, his countrymen of *Cambria*, were so called from their king *Camber*, and he calls himself a *Cambro-Briton*. I could also prove the falsehood of this opinion by the testimony of all his countrymen, who do not call themselves *Cimbri*, but *Cumri*. As that is false, so this is uncertain, whether other people living by the *Baltic* sea, did not use that word, which you attribute to the *Cimbri* alone, especially since it appears out of *Tacitus*, that many nations, in that tract of Germany, spoke the *Gallic* tongue; and I shewed before that word to be *Gallic*. But suppose that both of your assumptions were true, what then? Did you never read that the soldiers of *Cn. Pompeius*, when he waged war in Asia, were saluted by the name of brethren by the *Albans*, that inhabited the mountain *Caucasus*, by reason that both of them were called *Albans*? Neither do I doubt, but that if a man had observed both tongues, he might have found one or two words, signifying the same thing in both; but they wanted such a man as *Ludd* there, who, because both people had certain words common between them, would thereby prove, that both were of the same nation: and yet the purblind man seems to be sensible of the weakness of his conclusion, when he adds that the *Cimbri* were called *Æstiones* by the Germans: that he might make that out, he should have shown at what time, and upon what grounds, the *Cimbri* were transformed into *Æstiones*, and the *Æstiones* again into *Cimbri*. He speaks not a syllable of this, but only cites a British history, collected out of the *Milesian* fables of the Gauls, and also quotes a certain fragment, whence he, being now degraded from an antiquary, to be either a botcher, or a scraper together of old useless relics, or (if I may so speak) a fragmentary, doth piece up new kingdoms and new nations for us. This he doth with great labour, and yet with no colour of probability, where yet it was very obvious to him, unless, perhaps, it was above the poor man's reach, to find out the causes why the name *Cimber* was communicated to the *Cimbri* and the Welsh too; for *Plutarch* says, that it was not the name of a nation, but of an occupation or employment, and that robbers were so called by the Germans. *Suidas*, no contemptible grammarian amongst the Greeks, understands the word in the same sense; and *Pestus Pompeius*, amongst the Latins, writes that the *Cimbri* were called robbers by the Gauls. If we follow these men's opinions, it will

not be difficult to find out why the Cimbri, whom Ludd places in Britain, came by that name, especially since their neighbours, the Angli, or English, affirm that, even in this age, their manners shew them too much inclined to the same practices of thievery. Sure I am, that Livy calls that slave, who was sent to kill Marius in the prison of the Minturnæ, a Gaul; Lucan calls him a Cimber, but no noted writer stiles him a Briton. If Ludd had considered these things, or if, after consideration, he had chosen rather to remember them, than to frame new monsters to himself; there was no necessity for him, in one moment of time, or rather with one falsehood, to have left all Britain almost destitute and forsaken, all its military young men exhausted, and six hundred thousand of them drawn out of it at one single draught.

I will not here descend to a minute inquiry, to what children the Welsh are wont to give the names of the Cimbric kings; for this diligent writer brings in this also as an argument of their ancient pedigree.

If I mistake not, the Latin, German, and Syriac names are the chief which he will find. But if a solid argument may be fetched from the proper names of men, (which are oftentimes arbitrarily imposed by parents, or vain-gloriously adopted out of some history,) then Ludd might rather persuade us, that his countrymen are Jews, Romans, or Germans, than Cimbri: or, if he would advise his compatriots to give baptismal names, fetched out of history, to their children, within a few years he might transform his countrymen into whatsoever nation he pleased. But touching the names of the Cimbric kings, which, he says, were accustomed to be given to children; I would willingly ask the man from what oracle he received it, unless I knew before-hand, that he never wants some fragment, out of which he can prove what he pleases himself. But this I cannot but admire, touching that Cimbric expedition, how all their military men being sent abroad, that within the space of forty years, (for it was about that interval between the Cimbric war and Julius Cæsar's arrival in Britain,) your country of Wales should soon recover to be so populous; especially since Maximus having drawn forth a far lesser number out of Britain, even when it was in its most flourishing state, the Britons could never after hold up their heads, but were brought into bitter servitude by the Saxons; or why Cæsar, who lived high enough to remember the Cimbric war, when he came into Britain, being a learned man, and a great favourer of the Marian party, did find out nothing by inquiry concerning this Cimbric expedition. Lastly, I desire to know, whether Ludd spoke in jest, or in earnest, when he added, that the affinity of both the Cimbri might be inferred from their equal contempt of gold and silver? Here I would willingly ask of him, whether he spoke in earnest, when he calls those Cimbrians very moderate, and content with a little, who did not only vex and plunder Gaul, and a part of Spain too, but in a manner wholly wasted and destroyed them both, and

yet afterwards hastened to Italy in quest of a richer booty. Whose opulency got by robberies, the Helvetians emulating, they also became plunderers, as Strabo relates in his seventh book. Dare you call such men frugal and temperate? And that it may appear, that the Cimbric name is truly assigned to your nation, you make Welshmen emulous of those ways to which the Cimbrians were addicted; and yourself in chief, who ravage all nations, to steal from them a little glory. For, not content to have arrogated the deeds of the Cimbri to your countrymen, you add, with as impudent and fictitious an untruth, that the Sicambri were also of your stock. And because, in the name of both nations, there is a certain similitude of letters, from that affinity of words you feign a conjunction of blood. At this rate, by their descent from the Sicambrians, the Franks, and their childrens children, to all generations, will be allied to you; and so, by a packed series of lies, you raise a bridge to bring back the fugitive Brenni; of which one, who took Rome, lived about an hundred years before the other, who besieged Delphos; but you jumble and compact them together into one body, that so you might dress up a new monster out of a dead and living man pieced together; as if it were difficult to prove, by other arguments, that monsters are born in that very country, which brought such a person as you forth. But says Ludd, no writer acknowledgeth that there were two Brennus's besides Polydore Virgil. Surely Ludd thy reason hath forsaken thee, or else thou hast never read the fourth book of Strabo, where he writes, that the Brennus who besieged Delphos, is by some thought to be Prausus. Nay, not Strabo alone, but every man who believes that Rome was taken by a Brennus, and that about an hundred years after, Delphos was besieged by a Brennus, doth acknowledge that there were two of that name; since both those enterprizes could not be performed by one and the same man. But if we believe the monk, the compiler of the British history, Brennus the brother of Belinus, preceded these two Brenni three hundred years; who, if he had led his army into Italy at that time, must have fought with Numa Pompilius, or with Tullus Hostilius, and not with the free people of Rome. But to omit these things, whence doth this new logician gather that Brennus was a Briton? Forsooth, from one word only, viz. Trimarchia, which word yet is common to Scots, Gauls, and Welsh. Pausanias, whom you quote maimedly, and by piece-meal, that so he may make for your purpose, calls Brennus and his companions, Gauls, and acknowledgeth that word to be Gallic; but you, Sir, you only, such is your shamelessness, against the credit of all Greek and Latin historians, nay, and in spite of Minerva, and all the muses, do strive to prove him a Briton. Perhaps I have prosecuted this argument a little more prolixly, than either the obscurity of the matters themselves, or the unskilfulness and inconsistency of Ludd, deserved; but I have done it, not out of a desire to carp at, or blame others (which I am far from) but to abate the unavonourable

petulance of a man that abounds in abusive language, and that I might reduce him from a wild and extravagant rage, that makes him speak evil of almost all writers, and so to bring him, at last, to acknowledge his error. To omit others at present, he falls with great scurrility upon Hector Boetius, a man not only uncommonly skilled in the liberal arts for the age he lived in, but also endued with singular humanity and courtesy, but he so falls upon him, as to blame nothing in him, of which he himself is not far more guilty. Hector places the Brigantes in Galloway, in which he did amiss; for I have no design to defend his mistakes: but Ludd brings out great forces of the Cimbri from one corner of Britain; how truly, let the learned judge. Hector attributes matters, acted by others against the Romans in Britain, to his countrymen, the Scots. And Ludd doth shamelessly and falsely affirm, that Rome was taken, Macedonia vexed, Greece afflicted, the noblest oracle of the world sacrilegiously violated by his countrymen, the Britons; nay, that Asia was compelled to pay tribute to a few vagabonds. He blames Hector, but falsely, for making Gildo, who raised great commotions in Africa, a Scot; and yet he makes the same Gildo, who was indeed a Moor, to be a Goth; but Gildus and Gildo, forsooth, are names almost alike. Let me ask you, are they more alike than Luddus, Lydus, and Ludio? This is certain, that Gildus is an old name in Scotland, as the ancient clan of the Macgilds, or Macgills, doth shew; of whose posterity there are yet families remaining of good account, both in Scotland and England. But since Ludd hath such an intemperate tongue, that he cares not what he says, provided he may abuse others, I shall leave him, and conclude this book, only giving him this caution, that

Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.

*Let the well-shap'd deride the crooked back,
And the fair-featur'd woman scorn the black.*



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S C O T L A N D.

BOOK III.

THOUGH I have sufficiently demonstrated in the two former books, how fabulous, yea, how like mere prodigies, the memoirs are, which the writers of the British affairs have delivered concerning their ancestors; have also shewn, by plain and clear evidences, that the ancient Britons had their original from the Gauls; yet because, I perceive, I have to do with such men, as may be rather said to contend obstinately for a manifest falsehood, than fallen into a mistake by rashness or ignorance; I thought it worth my while to borrow proofs from writers that bear a great authority amongst all learned men, that I might take off the edge from the boldness of such hair-brained disputants; and, by that means, supply good men and lovers of truth, with sufficient arms to strain and curb their daring and affronting impudence. In the rank of such classic authors, I judge C. Julius Cæsar deserves the first place, both for his diligence in searching, his certainty in knowing, and sincerity in declaring things to others. He, in the fifth book of his Commentaries concerning the Gallic war, writing of Britain, says thus: “The inner part of Britain is inhabited by such, as they themselves record to be born in the island; and the maritime coasts, by such as came out of Belgium, to pillage and make war upon the island, who continued in the possessions they had gained by their arms, and were generally called by the names of the cities from whence they came. The country is very populous and well stored with houses, much like those of the Gauls; they have great store of cattle; they use brass for money, or iron rings, weighed at a certain rate. In its midland parts, there is found great quantity of tin, and, near the sea coast, iron, though but in a small quantity; their brass is brought in by other nations. They have all sorts of trees that they have in Gallia, excepting the beech and fir. Their religion will not suffer them to eat either hare, hen, or goose, notwithstanding they have of them all for their pleasure and diversion. The country is more temperate, and not so cold as Gallia: the island lieth triangular, one side of

“ which fronteth Gallia; on which side, that angle that Kent stands in, points to the east, where almost all ships arrive from France, and the lower angle to the south; this side containeth about 500 miles. The other angle lieth toward Spain, and the western quarter, in that circuit, where also Ireland lieth, which is an island half as large as England, as some think,) and as far distant from it as Gallia. In the mid-way between England and Ireland, lieth an island called Man; besides many other small islands, of which some write, that in winter-time, for thirty days together, they have a continual night, whereof we learned nothing by inquiry; only we found by the water hour-glass, that the nights in England were shorter than in the Continent. The length of this side, according to the opinion of the inhabitants, containeth 700 miles. The third side lieth to the north, and open sea, saving that this angle points a little toward Germany. This side is thought to contain 800 miles. And so the whole island containeth in circuit 2000 miles. Of all the inhabitants, they of Kent are most courteous and civil, all their country bordering upon the sea, and little differing from the fashion of Gallia. Most of the inland people sow no corn, but live upon milk and flesh, and are clothed with skins. All the Britons have their faces painted with woad, which makes a blue colour, to the end they may seem more terrible in fight. They wear the hair of their heads long; having all other parts of their body shaven, except their head, and upper lip. Their wives are common to ten or twelve, especially brethren with brethren, and parents with children; but the children that are born, are accounted his, unto whom the mother was first given in marriage.”

And a little after, he says,

“ By these he understood, that Cassivellan’s town was not far off, fortified with woods and bogs, and well stored with men and cattle. The Britons call that a town, when they fortify woody fastnesses with a ditch and rampart, and so make it a place of retreat against the incursions of their enemies. Thither Cæsar marched with his army, and found it well fortified both by art and nature; and as he assaulted it in two several places, the enemy stood to it a while, but at last were not able to bear the brunt and fury of the assailants, but made their escape a back-way out of the town. Thus he took it, and found in it a great store of cattle, and slew and took prisoners many of the Britons in the onset.”

TACITUS *in the life of* JULIUS AGRICOLA.

“ **I** DESIGN here to give a clear account of the site of Britain, and of its inhabitants, though they have been already described by several writers: this I do, not to compare either my care or ingenuity with theirs, but as it was then first thoroughly subdued, so such things as our ancestors, without perfect discovery, have merely dressed up with their pens, shall now be faithfully set

“ down upon knowledge. Britain, of all the islands known to the
“ Romans, the greatest, coasteth by the east upon Germany, by
“ the west towards Spain, and it hath France on the south; north-
“ ward, no land lieth against it, but only a vast and broad sea beat-
“ ing about it. Livy among the ancients, and Fabius Rusticus
“ among the moderns, the two most eloquent authors, have likened
“ the figure or shape of all Britain to an oblong scuttle, or two-
“ edged axe; and such indeed is the form and shape of that part,
“ on this side Caledonia: from whence the report of the whole
“ being so made, seems to take its rise; but there is beside, a huge
“ vast tract of ground, which runneth beyond even to the farther-
“ most point, growing narrow and sharp like a wedge. The Ro-
“ man fleet then first of all winding about this utmost point in the
“ sea, discovered Britain to be an island; and withal, found out
“ and subdued the isles of Orkney, never known before that time.
“ Thyle also was discovered all over white with winter snow. The
“ sea thereabout is, as they affirm, dull and heavy for the oar, and
“ not to be raised, as other seas are, with winds; probably because
“ of the scarcity of land and mountains which commonly gather and
“ cause tempests, and because a deep mass of continual sea is slow-
“ er stirred to rage.

“ But examining into the nature of the ocean, and its tides, is
“ what does not properly belong to this work, and many have
“ done it before. One thing I will add, and I may safely aver,
“ that the sea hath no where in the world a more large and free
“ dominion, that it no where carries so many river-waters to and
“ fro, neither is it content to flow and ebb so far as the banks,
“ but insinuates and winds itself into the land, shooting into the
“ mountains and cliffs, as to its own proper channel. Now, what
“ manner of men the first inhabitants of Britain were, whether
“ produced in the country, or imported from far, there is no com-
“ ing at any certainty from them, as being a barbarous people.
“ Their complexions are different, and thence may some con-
“ jectures be taken; for the red hair, and the mighty limbs of those
“ who inhabit Caledonia, bespeak them of German descent. The
“ coloured countenance of the Silures, and hair most commonly
“ curled, and their having their situation against Spain, make it
“ probable enough to believe that the old Iberians passed the sea,
“ and possessed those places. The nearest to France likewise re-
“ semble the French, either because they retain something of the
“ race from which they descended; or, that in countries which
“ are near, and lie exactly over-against one another, the same as-
“ pects of the heavens may give the bodies the same cast of com-
“ plexion. But generally speaking, it is most likely that the
“ French, being nearest, did people the land. In their ceremonies
“ and superstitious persuasions, there is to be seen an apparent
“ conformity: there is no mighty difference in the language. They
“ are alike bold to challenge, and forward to run themselves into

“ dangers; and when those dangers come, they are equally affrighted and concerned to be rid of them. Indeed the Britons make more shew of courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace; for the French also were once, as we read, redoubted in war, till such time, as giving themselves over to peace and idleness, cowardice crept in, and their manhood and their liberty went to wreck together: and so it also befel those Britons, who were subdued of old; the rest remain such sort of men to this day as the French were before. Their strength in the field consisteth in foot; some of the countries make war in waggons. The person of the first rank guides the waggon, and his attendants maintain the combat. They were formerly governed by kings, now they are divided by petty princes, into parties and factions: and that is the greatest help we have, against those puissant nations, that they are disunited in their counsels: it seldom happening that two or three states meet and concur to repulse a common danger: so, whilst they fight in small parties, they are all subdued. The sky is very cloudy, and much given to rain, without extremity of cold. Their days are longer than in our part of the world; the nights light, and in the farthestmost part of the island so short, that between the going out and coming in of the day the space is hardly perceived; and when clouds do not come in the way to hinder it, they affirm that the sun-shine is seen in the night, and that it neither setteth nor riseth, but passeth along, the extreme and plain parts of the earth projecting a low shadow, which riseth but a little way up into the sky, and obscures not the atmosphere so far as to make dark night. The soil, setting aside the olive, the vine, and the rest which are proper to warmer countries, very kindly receives all kind of grain, and beareth it in abundance; it shooteth up quickly, and ripeneth slowly; the cause of them both is the same, the overmuch moisture of the soil and the air. Britain produceth gold and silver, and other metals, which maketh it worth the conquering. The ocean bringeth forth pearl also, not orient, but duskish and wan, which proceeds, as some do suppose, from the want of skill in the gatherers. For in the Red-sea they are pulled out panting, and alive from the rocks; but in Britain they are cast out by the sea, and so taken up. For my part, I rather believe the nature of the country to be such as not to yield it, than that our covetousness could not find out the way to gather it right.

“ The Britons endure levies of men and money, and all other burdens imposed by the empire, patiently and willingly, if insolencies be forborne: indignities they cannot abide, being as yet subdued to be only subjects, and not slaves.

“ The first of the Romans that entered Britain with an army, was Julius Cæsar; who though he terrified the inhabitants with a battle, which went on his side, and gained the shore, yet may

“ seem rather to have shewed the place to posterity, than to have delivered to them the possession of it.

“ The civil wars ensued; men of the first quality turning their arms against the republic of Rome; then, and long after that, lay Britain forgotten, even in peaceable times. Augustus, and especially Tiberius, termed it a policy that it should lie so.

“ That Caius had a design to invade Britain, is certainly known; but his rash running head, and changeable humour, and chiefly his great attempts against Germany turning to nothing, averted that purpose.

“ Claudius did first effectually prosecute the matter, transporting legions and aids; and taking Vespasian into the action, which was the first foundation of that grandeur to which he afterwards attained; some countries were subdued, some kings led captive, and Vespasian made known to the world.

“ The first lieutenant-general was Aulus Plautius, then Ostorius Scapula, both excellent warriors: and so, by little and little, the nearest part of the island was reduced to the form of a province; and besides, a colony of old soldiers established there. Certain cities were also bestowed, in pure gift, upon King Cogidunus, (who remained most faithful even in our days), according to an old custom, anciently received among the Romans, to use even kings themselves for instruments of bondage.

“ Then Didius Gallus succeeded; who kept that which his predecessors had gotten, and built some few castles farther in the land, to win by that means the reputation of having made some improvement.

“ After Didius succeeded Veranius, who died within the space of one year.

“ Then Suetonius Paulinus, for two years time, behaved himself fortunately, subduing the nations, and establishing garrisons. And in confidence of his successes, going to reduce the isle of Man, which ministered supplies to the rebels, he disfurnished the country behind, and laid it open to all opportunities of the enemy. For through the absence of the lieutenant, the Britons, freed from their fears, began to talk about the miseries of slavery, to lay their injuries together, and aggravate them by constructions and inferences, as that their patience had done them no good, unless it was only to draw heavier burdens upon them, as being men that seemed willing to bear them. That whereas in former times they had only one king, now two were imposed upon them, the lieutenant to suck their blood, the procurator to sponge upon their substance. If these two disagreed, their disagreeing was the torment of the subjects; and if they agreed, that was their undoing; the one harassing them to death with soldiers and officers; the other vexing them by wrongs and indignities. That now their covetousness and lust laid hold, without exception, on all. And whereas in the field, he that spoileth is commonly

“ the stronger: now were they, by cowards and weaklings for the
“ most part, dispossessed of their houses, robbed of their children,
“ enjoined to yield soldiers for the service of other men, as if they
“ were a people that could die for any other, and were only ignorant
“ how to do it for their own country. For otherwise, what a
“ small handful of soldiers were come over, if the Britons would
“ but come to counting numbers: That Germany had shook off
“ the yoke, though they had no main ocean, but only a river, for
“ their defence: That their cause of taking arms was urgent and
“ just; their wives and children, their parents and their country
“ were the cause: That the Romans had no other cause but that of
“ their own covetousness and lust; and that they would doubtless
“ depart, as Julius Cæsar had done, if the Britons would imitate
“ the virtues of their ancestors, and not be dismayed with the doubtful
“ event of one or two skirmishes: That men in misery had
“ more courage and vehemency to attempt, and more constancy to
“ persevere in their attempts; and that now, even the gods seem to
“ pity the poor Britons’ condition, having sent the Roman captain
“ out of the way, and confined the army, as it were, to another
“ island: That now being assembled to advise and deliberate together,
“ they had attained the hardest point in an action of that
“ nature, wherein, without question, it were more dangerous to be
“ taken in the time of consultation, than in that of action. With
“ these, and the like speeches, inciting one another, by common
“ consent they resolve to take arms under the conduct of Voadicea,
“ a lady of the blood of their kings: for in matter of governing
“ in chief, they make no distinction of sex. And first pursuing
“ the soldiers, which lay divided in garrison, and taking the forts,
“ they next invaded the colony itself, as being the fountain-head of
“ their slavery. In sacking of it, they omitted no kind of cruelty,
“ which either anger, or the rage of victory, could induce a barbarous
“ people to practise. And unless, upon information given
“ him of the revolt, Paulinus had come speedily to succour his men,
“ Britain had then been lost; which, with one prosperous battle,
“ he restored to her former obedience, and made her patient in
“ bearing the yoke; some few keeping out, and remaining in arms,
“ whom the guilt of the rebellion excluded from all hope of pardon,
“ and some likewise who apprehended the lieutenant’s private
“ displeasure. He, though otherwise an extraordinary man, yet
“ seemed to shew too much haughty and hard usage to those who
“ surrendered themselves, and to revenge, in a manner, his own
“ private injuries. It was upon this account Petronius Turpilianus
“ was sent in his place, as a more clement and exorable person,
“ and a stranger to their faults, and therefore more ready to
“ receive their repentance; who having composed the troubles,
“ and not caring to attempt any thing farther, resigned his post to
“ Trebellius Maximus.

“ Trebellius, a man unfit for action, and altogether unexperi-

“ ended in camps, but using a kind of courteous and mild regimen, kept the country quiet: for now the Britons also had learned the good manners to put up with courtly tyranny that indulged them in the vices they liked; and the disturbances of civil dissensions gave him a plausible excuse for his doing nothing. But the soldiery accustomed to warfare, grew wanton with ease, and began to be mutinous. Trebellius flying and absconding, escaped their first fury; and soon after resuming his place, without majesty, without authority, he ruled precariously, and at his soldiers discretion; and so both coming, as it were, to a capitulation, the army for a licence to do what they pleased, and the captain for a security of his own life, the mutiny ended without any bloodshed.

“ Vectius Bolanus succeeded him not only in his place, but in the loose irregularity of discipline: the civil wars continued the same; the same negligence with regard to the enemy; the same licence in the camp; only Bolanus, a good honest man, not odious for any crime, had made himself popular, and got their good will instead of their obedience.

“ But when Vespasian, with the rest of the world, recovered Britain also, great captains, good soldiers, were sent, and the hope of the enemy was extremely abated. For immediately Petilius Cerealis struck a terror into them by invading, upon his first entry, the Brigantes, the most populous state of the whole province. Many battles were fought, and some bloody, and the greatest part of the Brigantes were either conquered or wasted.

“ And whereas Cerealis would doubtless have eclipsed the diligence and fame of another successor, Julius Frontinus, a great man, as he might well be called after that predecessor, sustained the charge with reputation and credit, subduing the puissant and warlike people of the Silures; where, besides the valour of the enemy, he had the straits and difficulties of the places themselves to struggle with.”

CICERO to TREBATIUS, *in the seventh book of his Familiar Epistles*

“ **I** HEAR that in Britain there is neither gold nor silver; if that be so, yet I persuade you to catch what you can, and return speedily to us. But if we can attain our desire, without the help of Britain, do you act so, that you may be reckoned amongst my familiar friends.”

PAULUS OROSIUS, *speaking of Ireland, hath these words.*

“ **T**HIS (Ireland) being the nearest island to Britain, is narrower in circuit, or space of ground than it, but more commodious for temper of soil and air; it is inhabited by the families of Scots. The isle of Anglesey, or rather Man, is also near to it, an island pretty large, of a good soil, which is also inhabited by the Scots.”

The same AUTHOR says,

“ **T**HE conqueror Severus was drawn into Britain by the revolt
 “ of almost all his allies there; after he had fought many
 “ great and notable battles, he judged it best to separate and di-
 “ vide that part of the island which he had regained from the other
 “ unconquered nations, by a wall: and for this end, he made a great
 “ trench and a strong wall, fortified at the top with many towers,
 “ for the space of 130 miles from sea to sea.

“ Ado, archbishop of Vienna, gives the same account almost
 “ word for word. The mistake of both in the number of miles
 “ to be corrected by writing 32 for 132.

Out of the thirty-fifth chapter of SOLINUS.

“ **I**T (*i. e.* Britain) is surrounded by many isles, and those not
 “ inconsiderable; of which Ireland comes the nearest to it in
 “ extent. It is an uncivil country, by reason of the savage man-
 “ ners of the inhabitants, but otherwise so full of pasturage and
 “ cattle, that if their herds, in summer-time, be not now and then
 “ restrained from feeding, they would run a great danger of over-
 “ eating themselves. There are no snakes there, and but few
 “ birds; the people are inhospitable and warlike. When they have
 “ overcome their enemies, they first besmear their faces with the
 “ blood of the slain; right and wrong, good and evil, all is one to
 “ them. If a woman be delivered of a man child, she lays his
 “ first meat upon her husband’s sword, and putting it softly into
 “ his mouth, gives him the first handsel of his food upon the very
 “ point of the weapon, praying, according to the manner of the
 “ country, that he may not otherwise come to his end than in bat-
 “ tle, and amongst arms. They that love to be fine, trim the hilts
 “ of their swords with the teeth of sea calves, which wear as white
 “ and as clear as ivory. The men chiefly glory in the beauty of
 “ their armour. There is not a bee amongst them; and if a man
 “ bring of the dust, or the little stones from thence, and strew
 “ them among bee-hives, the swarms forsake their combs. The
 “ sea that is between Ireland and Britain is stormy and rough most
 “ part of the year, so that it can hardly be sailed over but a few
 “ days in summer-time. They sail in keels of wicker, done over
 “ with neats leather. How long soever their passage continueth,
 “ the passengers abstain from meat all the while; such as have
 “ thoroughly examined it, have esteemed the breadth of that nar-
 “ row sea to be 120 miles. A tempestuous frith also divides the
 “ islands of Silures from the coast that the Britons inhabit; the
 “ men of which island keep their old customs, even to this day.
 “ They utterly refuse buying and selling for money, but barter one
 “ commodity for another, providing things necessary rather by ex-
 “ change than ready money. They worship the gods very devout-
 “ ly. As well the women as the men boast of their knowledge of

“ foretelling things to come. The French sea beats upon the
 “ isle of Thanet, which is divided from Britain by a narrow strait;
 “ it is happy in corn fields, and a fat soil, and healthful, not only
 “ to its inhabitants, but to others also. As there is no snake bred
 “ there, so, which is much more, the very earth of that island, to
 “ what place soever it is carried from thence, killeth that vermin.”

*Out of the third book of HERODIAN, translated into Latin by
 POLITIAN.*

“ **B**UT Severus contrived delays on purpose, that he might not
 “ make his entrance into Rome poorly; for being desirous of
 “ victory, and fond of getting the surname of Britannicus, he sends
 “ the ambassadors home before he had done his business, whilst he
 “ himself, in the mean time, with great diligence, prepared all
 “ things necessary for war. His first and chief care was to erect
 “ bridges on the marish grounds, that so his soldiers might stand
 “ safe, and fight as well as upon firm ground; for many places in
 “ Britain are marshy, because of the frequent overflowings of the
 “ ocean. The barbarians themselves swim through these moors
 “ and marishes, and run up to the bellies in them, not regarding
 “ the mud, with their naked bodies, for they are ignorant of the
 “ use of garments to clothe them, but gird their belly and their
 “ neck with iron, thinking that to be an ornament and sign of
 “ riches, as other barbarians do gold. And, besides, they mark
 “ their bodies with various pictures, and with the shapes of all
 “ manner of animals; and therefore they wear no clothes, lest
 “ they should hide the painted outside of their bodies. But they
 “ are a very warlike nation, and greedy of slaughter, and content
 “ themselves only with a narrow shield and a lance. Indeed they
 “ wear a sword too, hanging down from their naked bodies, but
 “ are wholly ignorant of the use of coats of mail, or helmets, as
 “ judging them to be an hindrance and a luggage to them in pas-
 “ sing over the marishes, whose vapours being exhaled by the heat,
 “ cause almost always a dark and a misty air.”

Out of the 20th book of AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

“ **T**HIS was the state of affairs throughout Illyricum, and the
 “ eastern parts; but in the 10th consulship of Constantius,
 “ and 3d of Julian, when matters were very often disturbed in
 “ Britain, by the inroads of those barbarous nations, the Scots and
 “ Picts, and thereby peace was broken, and the places near their
 “ borders laid waste, which caused a general panic through the
 “ provinces, already tired with their many past slaughters, Cæsar,
 “ then being in his winter quarters at Paris, was distracted with
 “ divers cares; for he feared to assist those transmarine people, as
 “ I related before, though Constantius did, lest he should leave
 “ Gaul without a governor, in the mean time when the Almaini,
 “ or Germans, were very eager on cruelty and war. And, there-

“ fore, he was pleased to send Lupicinus thither to compose mat-
 “ ters, who was a commissary-general of the army at that time, a
 “ stout man, and very skilful in military affairs, and prided him-
 “ self much in his post, so that he was very supercilious and haugh-
 “ ty; he spoke in a lofty tone, and strutted like a tragedian in his
 “ buskins; so that it was a great doubt whether he was more cove-
 “ tous or more cruel; he having caused the vanguard to march,
 “ viz. the Heruli, the Hollanders, and many of the Mœsici, came
 “ to Boulogne in the depth of winter. And embarking all his sol-
 “ diers in those ships which he had provided, taking advantage of
 “ a favourable wind, he sailed to Sandwich, and so went to Lon-
 “ don, that there he might advise, and be in readiness to act accord-
 “ ing to all emergencies.”

Out of his twenty-sixth book.

“ **T**HE Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti, vexed the Britons
 “ with perpetual miseries.”

Out of his twenty-seventh book.

“ **I**T is sufficient for me to say that, at that time, the Picts being
 “ divided into two nations, the Dicaledones and the Vecturi-
 “ ones, and also the Attacotti, a warlike people, and the Scots rang-
 “ ing several ways, committed much spoil. The Franks and Saxons,
 “ as they had opportunity to make inroads by land or sea, plundered
 “ the Gallician tracts near to them, and carried from thence
 “ mighty booties, firing all before them, and killing those whom
 “ they took prisoners. To hinder this, fortune favouring him, our
 “ warlike commander came into these extreme parts from Bou-
 “ logne, which is divided from the land he was to make by the
 “ straits of the sea; which is wont to be raised by high tides, and
 “ again levelled in a calm like a plain, without any prejudice to the
 “ mariners; from thence he easily passed over to Richburrow, a
 “ safe harbour over against it; whence being followed by the Ba-
 “ tavi, Heruli, and Jovii, trusting to their conquering numbers, he
 “ came to the old town of London, since called Augusta,—where
 “ dividing his troops, he set upon the predatory bands of his ene-
 “ mies, and they being loaden with spoils, he quickly overcame
 “ them; and putting them to flight, he rescued from them the cap-
 “ tives, whom they drove bound before them, and their cattle, and
 “ all the prey which our poor tributaries had lost. He restored all
 “ to the losers, except a small part bestowed on his wearied soldiers.
 “ Thus he re-entered the city in triumph, before forlorn, but now
 “ relieved by him. Elevated with this prosperous success, he de-
 “ signed greater matters, and intended to follow safe counsels, for
 “ which he took time; for he had learned, both by prisoners and
 “ deserters, that such scattered troops of sundry nations, and those
 “ fierce ones too, could not be conquered but by stratagem or sur-
 “ prise. So that he made edicts, and proposed impunity, and by

“ that means called in stragglers and deserters. Hereupon many
“ returning, he being moved thereby, and anxiously careful, re-
“ quired Civilis to be sent to him to govern Britain, a man of a
“ sharp wit, and very just and honest; and also Dulcitus, a com-
“ mander very skilful in warlike affairs.”

Out of the 39th book of DION.

“ **C**ÆSAR, having first of all the Romans passed the Rhine,
“ sailed afterwards over into Britain, in the consulship of
“ Pompeius and Crassus. The island is extended 450 stadia at
“ least beyond the Morini. It fronts the rest of Gaul, and almost
“ all Spain, reaching out into the sea. It was unknown to the an-
“ cient Greeks and Romans. And their posterity doubted whe-
“ ther it was a continent or an island; and many writers who
“ were ignorant of the truth, as having not seen it themselves, nor
“ had any information from the inhabitants, (but spoke only by
“ conjecture,) in their writings, as their leisure and humours were,
“ some counted it one, and some the other. But in process of
“ time, when Agricola was chief commander, and afterwards in
“ the time of Severus the emperor, it was clearly found out to be
“ an island. Cæsar, when he settled things in France, and sub-
“ dued the Morini, desired to go over thither, and accordingly he
“ transported his foot, where it was most convenient, but he land-
“ ed not where he ought to land. For the fame of his coming be-
“ ing noised abroad, all the Britons had prepossessed the passages
“ of the continent. But he, sailing beyond a prominent rock,
“ made his descent elsewhere, and repulsing those who first hind-
“ ered his landing, he put his men on shore before many of the
“ Britons could unite to oppose his troops; and afterwards he re-
“ pelled their aids. Yet not many of the barbarians were slain,
“ for they fighting on horseback, and out of chariots, easily avoid-
“ ed the Romans, who had then no horse forces. But being amaz-
“ ed at those things which were related concerning the Romans,
“ from the continent, and that they were so bold as to transport
“ themselves, and make their descent into this island, they sent
“ some of the nation of the Morini, their friends and allies in em-
“ bassy to Cæsar. First of all Cæsar demanded hostages, and they
“ promised them; but afterward perceiving, that the naval force of
“ the Romans, both those that were arrived, and those that were
“ coming, were shattered by tempests, they changed their minds;
“ yet they did not openly set upon them, (for their camp was well
“ guarded), but having surprised some of them, who were sent in a
“ peaceable manner to provide things necessary, they put them al-
“ most all to the sword; excepting some whom Cæsar speedily re-
“ lieved; and presently they made an onset on his camp, but were
“ shamefully repulsed, without effecting any thing: yet they came
“ not to terms with Cæsar, till they had been often worsted by
“ him. On the other side, Cæsar had no great mind to make a

“ league with them: but the winter being now at hand, and his
 “ forces not then sufficient to carry on the war, many of those he
 “ had brought over being dead or slain; and besides, the Gauls, in
 “ his absence, were attempting alterations; he made up a peace
 “ with them, in a manner, against his will, demanding many host-
 “ ages, but receiving a few only. Then he sailed back again to
 “ the continent, where he quelled the mutineers and settled af-
 “ fairs; neither reaped he any public or private advantage from
 “ Britain worth his labour, save only the reputation of making a
 “ descent upon it. For this very reason, he was much pleased in
 “ himself, and his friends did mightily extol him at Rome. For
 “ when they saw that places, before unknown, were now brought
 “ to light, and before never heard of, were now discovered, they
 “ embrace their hopes, as if they had been enjoyments, antedating
 “ their success, they rejoiced as if they had already obtained their
 “ desired conquest, and therefore they decreed supplications to the
 “ gods for twenty days.”

Out of the first chapter of the first book of BEDE.

“ **T**HE islanders profess one and the same theology, and that
 “ in five tongues, viz. of the Angles, Britons, Scots, Picts,
 “ and Latins; which, by the study and meditation of the scrip-
 “ tures, is made common to all the rest. But, in the first place,
 “ the Britons only inhabited the island, from whom it took its
 “ name; who coming over into Britain, as it is reported, from the
 “ Armorick country, seized upon the southern parts of it. And
 “ they having possessed a great part of the island, beginning from
 “ the south, it happened that the nation of the Picts, venturing to
 “ sea with a few galleys, as is reported, from Scythia, made their
 “ descent in Ireland, the winds hurrying them beyond all the coasts
 “ of Britain, and penetrated even to the northern parts there;
 “ where finding the nation of the Scots, they desired part of their
 “ allotment for their habitation, but could not obtain it.”

Out of the fifth chapter of the first book of the same AUTHOR.

“ **S**EVERUS, an African, born at Laceda near Tripoli, the seven-
 “ teenth from Augustus Cæsar, obtained the empire, which he
 “ held seventeen years. He being of a fierce disposition, as al-
 “ ways vexed with continual wars, governed the commonwealth
 “ with great valour indeed, but with equal toil. And being a
 “ conqueror in the civil wars, which were very grievous in his
 “ time, he was forced to go over into Britain upon the revolt of al-
 “ most all his allies; where, after many great and cruel battles, he
 “ gained part of the island, and divided it from the unconquered
 “ part, not with a wall, (as some think,) but with a trench only.
 “ For a wall is made of stones; but a trench, wherewith camps are
 “ fortified, to repel the force of enemies, is made of turf cut out of
 “ the earth; yet it is built like a wall, high above the ground, so that

“ there is a ditch before it, out of which the turfs are digged and
“ heaved up, before which pallisadoes made of strong wood are
“ prefixed. Wherefore Severus drew a great ditch and a firm
“ trench, fortified with many towers above from sea to sea; and
“ then he died at York.”

Out of his twelfth chapter of the same book.

“ **A**FTERWARDS Britain being despoiled of all her armed sol-
“ diery, and of the flower of her valiant youths, who were
“ carried away prisoners by the severity of tyrants, and never re-
“ turned again, was laid open to be preyed upon and plundered,
“ as being wholly ignorant of the art of war. At last it was sud-
“ denly harassed by two transmarine nations, the Scots from the
“ south, and the Picts from the north; under whose yoke she
“ groaned many years: I call them transmarine nations, not be-
“ cause they had their habitations out of Britain, but because they
“ were remote from the allotment of the Britons, two creeks of
“ the sea running betwixt them, one of them from the east sea,
“ and the other from the west, running far into land, though they
“ reach not one to the other. The eastern one hath in the midst
“ of it the city Guidi. The western one above, *i. e.* on the right
“ hand of it, hath the city Alcluyth, which, in their tongue, signi-
“ fieth a rock; for Cluyth is situate by a river of the same name.
“ By reason of the incursions of these nations, the Britons send
“ ambassadors to Rome with complaining letters, craving aid of
“ them with mournful supplications, and promising perpetual sub-
“ jection to them, if they would drive away those enemies that
“ were at their very doors; upon this an armed legion was appoint-
“ ed for their assistance, which being transported into the island,
“ and fighting with their enemies, slew many of them, and drove
“ the rest beyond the limits of their allies. And thus having deli-
“ vered them from their cruel bondage, they advised them to build
“ a wall within the island between the two seas, which might be a
“ safeguard to them to repel their enemies; and then in great tri-
“ umph they returned home. They hearkening to their advice,
“ erect a wall, as enjoined, not so much with stones as turfs; but
“ having no eminent artificers fit for such an undertaking, it was
“ good for little. They made it between the two seas or bays, of
“ which I lately spoke, for many miles; that so where the waters
“ were not a defence, there, by the advantage of the wall, they
“ might secure their borders from the inroads of their enemies.
“ The evident marks and footsteps of this high wall and work do
“ remain to this day. It begins at almost a mile distant from the
“ monastery of Kebercurnig toward the west, in a place called, in
“ the Picts’ language, Panuachel, but in the English, Penueltima,
“ and bending against the west, it is terminated by the city Al-
“ cluyth. But their old enemies, as soon as they perceived that
“ the Roman soldiers were departed, manned out a fleet, and broke
“ Vol. I.

“ into their borders, killing and spoiling all before them; and, as
 “ if they were corn ready for the sickle, they mowed, trampled upon,
 “ on, and destroyed them. Now the Britons send a second embassy
 “ to Rome with redoubled complaints and lamentations, desiring
 “ aid, lest their miserable country should be wholly destroyed; and
 “ the name of a Roman province, wherewith they had been honoured
 “ so long, should now grow cheap and precarious by the
 “ invasion of foreigners. Accordingly another legion was sent,
 “ which, according to command, arriving in autumn, made a great
 “ slaughter of their enemies, and drove all that made their escape
 “ beyond the seas; who before annually drove all their preys beyond
 “ those seas without any resistance. Then the Romans told
 “ the Britons that they could come no more on such chargeable and
 “ toilsome expeditions for their defence, but they advised them to
 “ take arms themselves, and fight with their enemies; that, were it
 “ not for their sluggishness, they might be an overmatch for them.
 “ Moreover, they thought it advantageous to their allies, whom they
 “ must leave, that a wall should be drawn directly from sea to sea,
 “ between the cities which were there built for fear of enemies,
 “ where also Severus made a trench. This wall they built accordingly
 “ with firm stone, both with the public and private purse, (as
 “ is yet to be seen,) taking to their assistance a company of the Britons.
 “ It was eight foot broad and twelve high, in a direct line
 “ from east to west. Both this and that of Severus are yet to be seen.
 “ After they had built it, they gave instructions to the inhabitants
 “ for their defence, and afforded them examples for their training
 “ up in arms; but on the south shore, where their ships rode at
 “ anchor, because, from thence they feared the irruptions of the
 “ barbarians, they erected towers at proper distances for the prospect
 “ of the sea; and so they took their leaves, as never intending
 “ to return.”

And a little after,

“ In short, they fly, and are dispersed, leaving the cities and wall;
 “ their enemies follow, and make more cruel slaughters than ever
 “ before. For as lambs are devoured by wolves, so were the poor
 “ inhabitants torn in pieces by their enemies; so that being ejected
 “ out of their habitations, and in danger to be starved, they exercised
 “ robberies and mutual rapines, to keep themselves alive. Thus
 “ they increased external slaughters by domestic broils, till all the
 “ country was quite despoiled of food, but what was got by hunting.”

Out of the epistle of GILDAS.

“ **W**HOM he commanded to build a wall between the two seas
 “ across the island, that it might be a terror to enemies, and
 “ a defence to the inhabitants.” And after, “ The remainders of
 “ them sent again lamentable letters to Ætius, a man of great authority
 “ in Rome, beginning thus: To Ætius, thrice consul, the

“groans of the Britons.” And a little after they complain, “The barbarians compel us to the sea, the sea beats us back to the barbarians. Between these two kinds of death, we are either killed on land, or drowned at sea, neither have we any fence or relief against either of them.”

O 2



THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.



BOOK IV.

Containing a chronicle of all its Kings; in an exact series of succession, from Fergus, the first founder of the Scottish Monarchy, to the reign of King James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England.

HAVING undertaken to write the history of our nation, that the series thereof might appear more plain to the reader, I have in my former books premised a few ancient memoirs, and especially those which are freest from fabulous vanities, and are also most consonant to old writers.

First of all, it is constantly reported, and there are many evidences to confirm the same, that a great multitude of Spaniards, driven out of their own country by their powerful Dons, or else voluntarily departing by reason of their superabounding populousness, transported themselves into Ireland, and seized upon those places of that island which were nearest to them: afterwards the healthiness of the air, and the fatness of the pasturage, invited many others to follow them, especially seeing their seditions at home, and the injuries offered them by foreigners (to which Spain was always subject) drew many thither in hopes of a quieter life (which voyage they were more easily persuaded to undertake) because they looked upon themselves as going into an island already possessed by their own people, and by that means, as it were, their second country. This stock of Spaniards did so flourish and increase, in a country fit for propagation, that now they were not contented within the bounds of Ireland, but frequently made emigrations into the lesser islands near adjacent.

In the mean time, the Scots (for that was the general name of the whole nation) extending their bounds through the islands of Æbude, and dispersing themselves by tribes and kindreds, without either king or any fixed government, a German, or as Bede writes, a Scythian fleet came to the coasts of Ireland, being driven thither, it is very probable, by stress of weather, for they had not their wives or children aboard with them. They being very poor, having

nothing left them by reason of so long a voyage, but only their arms, sent ambassadors to the Scots, desiring them that they might inhabit amongst them. Answer was sent them, that they themselves were compelled to seek their habitations in those small islands, which, by reason of the barrenness of the soil, were also unfruitful; and if it were otherwise, yet all of them, if they should forsake them quite, would not be sufficient to entertain so great a multitude. But, in regard they pitied the common miseries of mankind, and were particularly affected with their condition, whom divine providence had so grievously afflicted, and who did not seem to be wholly strangers to their lineage (as by their language and customs appeared) they would therefore give them their advice, and, as far as they were able, would assist them to execute it. Their advice to them was, to sail to their neighbour island, Albium, which was large and fruitful, and in many places then uninhabited; and also, by reason of the condition of those inhabitants that were in it, who were under several kings, at feud one with another, was consequently very weak. That amidst those discords, it would be easy for them, by supporting the weaker side, to make themselves masters of that large country, and that, in this matter, they would afford them their assistance.

The narrowness of the Æbudæ, and the lowness of their own condition, for so it then was, made them give ear to this counsel. So that these Germans (who were afterwards, both by the Romans, and their neighbouring nations, called Picts) landing upon the coasts of the island bordering on the German sea; and having expelled the inhabitants, which were but few, and those at mutual discord amongst themselves, they brought a great part of that district under their subjection; and soon after, in prosecution of the friendship with the Scots, so happily begun, they intermarried with them, and so were, in a manner, compacted into one nation with them. By this mutual intercourse betwixt them, a great many Scots, being either detained by their allies, who were yet but weak, or else driven by want and penury, or induced by the love of their relations, fixed their habitations amongst the Picts. The Picts at first, were glad of their coming; but when they grew numerous, by degrees, they began to fear, lest, if the Scots increased in strength, they would become their masters; so that, first in their private assemblies, and afterward in their public councils, they gave out that mighty cautions should be taken to hinder foreigners from being admitted among them, and some way found out to lessen the number of those who were already admitted. A rumour also was spread abroad, that it was revealed from heaven to the Picts, *That their nation should in time be extirpated by the Scots.* These suspicions caused the two nations, which before were very amicable, to part companies. The Scots betook themselves to the mountainous places, which were less fit for culture, in regard they were most addicted to pasturage and hunting; and the Picts possessed the low lands, which were

more fertile and fit for tillage, situate near the German sea. Thus their friendship, before contracted by so many mutual kindnesses, did soon break forth into a terrible civil war. For the seeds of a deadly hatred were sown between those two nations, both of them being of fierce dispositions; though the occasion at first was but trivial, as some little feuds and petty animosities, or some few injuries sustained.

The Britons, being enemies to both nations, having got this opportunity, fomented the dissensions; and freely offered aid to the Picts, even before they desired it, against the Scots. When the Scots perceived that these things were in agitation against them, they sent elsewhere for aid, and procured a foreign king to assist them against so imminent a danger. The commanders of the islanders, being almost all of equal authority, and scorning to stoop one to the other; Fergus, the son of Ferchard, was sent for with forces out of Ireland, being counted the most eminent person among the Scots, both for advice and action. He by the public consent of the people, was chosen king, and charged to prepare his army to undergo the shock of a battle, if need required. Just about the same time a rumour was dispersed abroad, which came to the ears both of the Scots and Picts, that the Britons were playing the double, and laying plots and counter-plots equally pernicious to both nations; and that they would set upon the conquered and conquerors together, with their arms; and destroying both, or else driving them out of the island, they themselves would enjoy the whole. This report made both armies doubtful what course to take; and for a time kept them both within their trenches. At length they came to a treaty, and, perceiving the secret fraud of the Britons, they inclined to make peace one with another; which being confirmed, the three different armies returned home. The Britons failing in their first project, had recourse to another stratagem. They sent in robbers underhand amongst the Picts, who drove away their cattle; when the Picts demanded restitution, they answered, that they should seek it from the Scots, who were accustomed to thieving and plundering, rather than from them. Thus they eluded the embassy, and sent away their ambassadors without their errand; so that the matter appeared to be a plain mockery. Their fraudulent counsels being thus more and more discovered, the late reproach incensed the hearts of both nations against them, more than the remaining grudges and resentments for their former injuries; and therefore levying as great an army as they could, both kings invaded, two several ways, the coasts of the Britons; and putting the country to fire and sword, returned home with a great booty. To revenge this loss, the Britons entered Scotland, and came as far as the river Don; and having ravaged the country thereabouts, with greater terror than loss to the inhabitants, they pitched their tents upon the bank of the river. Fergus having sent their wives and children, and other portable things, into the moun-

tains, and places inaccessible to armies, secured all the avenues, till the Picts came up; with whom he at length joined his forces, and, communicating counsels one with another, they resolved to make a diversion, and lengthen the war, by making an incursion with vast forces into their enemies country; and so to weary them out. But Coilus (that was the name of the king of the Britons) understanding by his spies the cause of their delay, sends five thousand men before to lie in ambush in the upper grounds, and he determined to lead forth the rest of his army directly against the enemy. When the Picts knew this, they again consulted with the Scots, and, by way of prevention, they agree to assault the camp of the Britons by night; and accordingly, drawing out their forces, the Scots in the front, the Picts in the rear, attack their enemies before day; and, by this means, they made a great slaughter of the Britons, being, as it were, half asleep, whom the former delays of their enemies had made secure and confident. In this battle Coilus himself fell, with the greatest part of his army, and made the place in which it was fought famous, from his name. Fergus returning home a conqueror, the Scots settled the regal government upon him and his posterity, by the solemnity of an oath. Afterwards, having quieted matters in Scotland, he returned back into Ireland to quell seditions there; where having composed all things, as he was returning home, a tempest arising suddenly, he was drowned not far from the port called from him *Fergus' rock*, i. e. Knock-Fergus, or Carrick-Fergus, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. Historians say, that his coming into Albium was at the time when Alexander the Great took Babylon; about three hundred and thirty years before the birth of Christ.

FERITHARIS, second king of Scotland.

FERGUS dying, left two sons behind him, Ferlegus and Mainus; neither of them yet able to manage the government; so that the chiefs of the clans meeting together to declare the succeeding king, there was great contention amongst them; some urging the late oath, whereby they had bound themselves to preserve the sceptre in the Fergusian family; others alleging what great hazards they might run under an infant king. At last, after a long dispute, a medium was found out; whereby neither the infant, not yet fit to manage the government, should actually reign, nor yet their oath be violated; which was, that, whilst the children of their kings were infants, one of their kindred who was judged most accomplished for the government, should act as regent; and if he died, then the succession of the kingdom should descend to the former king's sons. This law obtained for almost 1274 years, even until the days of Kenneth III. of whom I shall speak in his place. By virtue of this law, Feritharis, brother to Fergus, obtained the kingdom, and managed it fifteen years, with such equity and moderation, that his subjects found him a just king; and the orphans or pupils a good guardian. Having, by this carriage, procured peace abroad,

and got the love of his subjects at home; yet he could not allay the ambition of his kindred. For Ferlegus, being inflamed with a desire to reign, and having first communicated his design to the most turbulent of the soldiers, such particularly as were most desirous of innovation and change, comes to his uncle and demands the kingdom of him, which he held (as he alleged) not as his own, but in trust only for him. Feritharis was so far from being disturbed at this rash undertaking of the young man, that, calling an assembly of the states together, he declared to them, that he was ready to lay down and resign the regal sceptre; adding also many words in commendation of the young man; as for himself, he had rather freely and willingly resign up the kingdom, with which he was but intrusted, which his death, now near at hand, would deprive him of, that so his fidelity towards his nephews might appear to be more the effects of good-will than of necessity. But such was the respect and love that all bore to Feritharis, that they utterly disliked this over-hasty desire of the kingdom in Ferlegus, and they manifested it, not only by their countenances and frowns, but by the loud acclamations of the whole convention and assembly. And having discovered by spies the conspiracy against the uncle, though they judged the author of so detestable a design to be worthy of death; yet the memory of his father Fergus, and the present favour and desires of his uncle, prevailed so far, that they did not inflict it on him for his designed wickedness; only they set guards and spies upon him, who were to watch over, and pry into all his words and actions. But he, impatient presently to obtain what he hoped for in his mind, though the delay would have proved but short, deceiving his keepers, with a few others privy to his design, made his escape; flying first to the Picts, and finding there no encouragement for his desired innovation, afterwards to the Britons, where he lived an obscure, and consequently an ignoble life. But Feritharis, a few months after, was taken off; it is doubtful whether by disease or treachery. The former ambition of Ferlegus, the detection of his conspiracy, and his late flight, raised such suspicions of his being guilty of his death, that he was unanimously condemned in his absence, about the fifteenth year after his father's death.

MAINUS, *the third king.*

FERLEGUS being condemned, Mainus, his brother, was created third king of the Scots, a man more like to his father and uncle, than his brother Ferlegus: he confirmed and settled peace with his neighbours abroad, punished the wicked and profligate at home, and constantly performed religious exercises; whereby he procured to himself such an opinion of justice and piety, that as well foreigners, as his own subjects, thought it a nefarious thing to hurt such a person. He was better guarded by this opinion of his sanctity, than by his military forces; after he had reigned twenty-nine years, he departed this life, being much lamented by all good men.

DORNADILLA, *the fourth king.*

HE left a son behind him, called Dornadilla, the successor of his kingdom; in point of equity, like his father, but very unlike him in the other parts of his life. For he spent much of his time in hunting, as judging that exercise to be proper enough in a time of peace, and healthful; and what was still more, very beneficial to harden the body for war. And besides, it is by that exercise the mind receives the purest pleasures, and is mightily strengthened against covetousness, luxury, and other vices, which spring from idleness. Report says, that the laws about hunting, which the ancient Scots observe to this day, were made by him. He died in the twenty-eight year of his reign.

NOTHATUS, *the fifth king.*

AFTER his death, the people placed Nothatus, his brother, on the throne, his own son Reutherus being yet immature in point of age for the government. This Nothatus changed the form of it, which till then had been moderate, and bounded with laws, into an arbitrary domination; and, as if his subjects had been given him to prey upon, not to defend, he punished high and low promiscuously, with forfeiture of goods, banishment, death, and all sort of miseries, so that scarce any addition could be made to his cruelty. By these severities, many of the people were cut off; only one Dovalus of Galloway, an ambitious man, thinking it a seasonable opportunity for him to advance himself, by reason of the people's hatred against their king; and knowing also that his own life was insidiously aimed at by the king, he resolves to prevent him. And accordingly, all things being in readiness, and being accompanied with a great number of his vassals and friends, away goes he to the king, and openly upbraids him with the slaughter of the nobility, with the seizure of their goods and estates, and with his enslaving the commonalty; and demands of him to restore the kingdom, which he was not able to manage, to the right heir. Nothatus being thus bearded and affronted, contrary to his expectation, yet remitted nothing of his former stoutness, but answered peremptorily, that he would maintain what he had done, by his kingly prerogative, and, if he had carried it somewhat despotically, it was to be imputed not to his own disposition, but to the contumacy of the subjects, who had forced him thereto. These taunts increased the animosities between them, so that at last it came to blows, and Nothatus was slain by Dovalus and his partisans, after he had reigned, cruelly and avariciously, twenty years.

REUTHERUS, *the sixth king.*

THIS done, Reutherus was made king by the Dovalian faction, without the suffrages of the people: the nobles, hearing of it, though they judged Nothatus worthy of the worst of punishments,

yet did not approve so bad an example; and they took it in greater disdain, because a public convention was not consulted, but the choice of the chief magistrate devolved on the pleasure and arbitrament of one man: besides, that it was not to be thought an obliging act in him, thus to advance the young man to the chief power, who was, as yet, unfit to rule. For such as looked narrowly into the matter, would find, that only the name of king would be given to Reutherus, but the whole power would reside in Dovalus. However, it did not much concern the public, whether Nothatus, or Dovalus were king, unless perhaps they hoped for a more tolerable life under him, who being a private man, durst adventure to murder his king, and so to deliver over the sceptre to another in a private manner, than under one, who was not so extreme or cruel in his government, until, by the permission of the people, he was backed with power and with the terror of an army. The kindred of Nothatus, hearing such things to be reported abroad, insinuating themselves into the company of those who did regret such high misdoings, at last gained this point, that war should be declared against Dovalus; and that Ferchard, Nothatus' son-in-law, should be general of their army. Neither did Dovalus refuse to give battle; they fought twice in one and the same day; the Dovalians, though superior in number, yet were beaten and put to flight, more of them being slain in the pursuit, than in the battle. For, besides Dovalus himself, and the chief of his faction, there fell also Getus, the king of the Picts; with many of his men. Reutherus the new king, was taken prisoner, and pardoned, out of respect to his tender age, to the memory of his father, and to the royal blood which ran in his veins. Neither was the victory unbloody, even to the conquerors themselves, almost all the chiefs of the clans being slain, with many common soldiers into the bargain. This conflict brought the interests of the Scots and Picts to that low ebb in Britain, that they who survived fled into desert and mountainous places, and even into the neighbouring islands, lest they should become a prey to the Britons; who having now got that opportunity, which they long thirsted after, penetrated into the country, as far as Bodotria, (now called Forth) without any resistance. Afterwards, having made a little settlement of things there, they went forward against the Caledonians, and, having scattered those, who were there gathered together to oppose them, they seized upon the champaign countries of the Picts, and, placing garrisons there, thinking the war to be at an end, they returned home with their army.

In the mean time, the remainders of the Scots and Picts, which had retired to the mountains, woods, and other inaccessible places, vexed the governors of castles and garrisons by robbing them of their cattle, upon which they lived; and, being increased by the accession of greater forces from the islands, they sometimes burnt villages, and plundered far and near, so that the ground was left without tillage in many places. The Britons, either being detained by

home-bred dissensions, or not thinking it advisable or safe to lead their army into such difficult and almost inaccessible places, where they could meet their enemies with no forces more numerous than they had to oppose them, did by their slow actings, increase the boldness of their opposers. The Scots and Picts being thus miserably afflicted for twelve years, at length a new race of lusty warlike youths grew up, (who, in so great straits that they had undergone, were inured to hardship), those sent messengers all about, and mutually exhorting one another, they resolved to try their fortunes. Whereupon Reutherus sails out of Ireland into the *Æbuda*, and from thence into *Albium*, and landing his forces at the bay now called *Loch Broom*, and there joining with young *Gethus*, the son of old *Gethus*, who was his wife's brother, they consulted together concerning the management of the war. The issue of their counsel was, that it was best to draw towards the enemy unawares, whilst he was unprepared. As soon as they met, the service was so hot, and the fight so sharp, that neither army had reason to boast; so that both of them being wearied with slaughter, made peace for some years: Reuther, or (as *Bede* calls him) *Reuda*, returned to his ancient seat of *Argyle*; and the Scots were, a long time after, from him called *Dalreudini*; for *Daal* in old Scottish signifieth a part, as some say, or meadow or plain, as others affirm. From whence he made a farther progress, and in a short time enlarged his dominions even to their ancient bounds. After he had reigned twenty-six years he died leaving a son behind him, named *Thereus*, begot upon the daughter of *Gethus*.

REUTHA, the seventh king.

BECAUSE *Thereus* was yet scarce ten years old, and so too young to undertake the kingdom, according to the law long before made and observed, concerning the succession of kings; therefore his father's brother *Reutha* was declared king; who being free from wars abroad, endeavoured to reduce the people, who were grown almost wild by their former sufferings, and also insolent upon their late victory, (though a bloody one,) into a milder carriage and deportment; and accordingly he enacted many public and profitable laws, of which not a few yet remain amongst the ancient Scots. Having reigned seventeen years, with so good a conduct, being revered and beloved of all; either for want of health, (to which he himself imputed it), or else fearing the ambitious nature of his kinsman *Thereus*, he resigned up the government, the people being hardly brought to give their consent to it; and at his resignation there was a large panegyric made in his praise.

THEREUS, the eight king.

THEREUS was substituted in his stead; in the first six years of his reign, he so managed the government, that *Reutha*'s predictions concerning him seem to be true. But after that time,

was expired he ran headlong into all manner of vice, insomuch that putting the nobles to death by false indictments, some lewd fellows thereupon did, without fear, range over all the kingdom, acting rapines and robberies at their pleasure. The Phylarchi, (*i. e.* chief of the clans), bewailing the deplorable state of the public, determined to proceed judicially against him; which he having notice of, fled to the Britons; where, despairing of his return, he ended his days in great contempt and ignominy. In the mean time, Conanus, a prudent and regular person, was elected viceroy; he restored and strengthened what the other had impaired and weakened; he restrained robberies, and having composed matters as well as he could, he received news of the death of Thereus; whereupon, in a public assembly, or convention of the estates, he abdicated the magistracy, about the twelfth year after Thereus began his reign.

JOSINA, the ninth king.

JOSINA, brother of the late king, was raised to the helm of government; he did nothing memorable one way or other, only he held physicians in very high esteem; because, when he was banished with his father into Ireland, they had been his great intimates. Whereupon the rest of the nobility complying with the humour of the king, it came to pass, that for many ages, there was scarce a nobleman or gentleman in Scotland, which had not the skill to cure wounds: For there was then little use of other parts of physic amongst such men, who were educated parsimoniously, and inured to much labour and toil. He died in a good old age, having reigned four and twenty years.

FINNANUS, the tenth king.

HIS son Finnanus succeeded him, who walking in his father's steps, endeavoured nothing more than to accustom his subjects to a just and moderate government; labouring to maintain his kingly authority more by good-will than arms: and that he might cut up the root of tyranny, he made a decree, that kings should determine or command nothing of great concern or importance, without the authority of their great council. He was beloved both by his subjects and by foreigners. He died, having reigned thirty years.

DURSTUS, the eleventh king.

NOTHING did so much aggravate the loss of Finnanus, as the profligate and debauched life of his son Durstus, who succeeded him. For first of all he banished from his presence his father's friends, as troublesome abridgers of his pleasures: Then he made the corruptest youngsters his familiar and bosom friends, giving himself wholly up to wine and women, He drove away his wife, the daughter of the king of the Britons, who was prostituted

to his nobles. At length when he perceived that the nobility were conspiring against him, as if he had been just then awakened out of a deep sleep; foreseeing that he was not safe at home, and knew not where to find a secure place abroad, if he were banished, in regard he was so hated both by his subjects and strangers too, he therefore thought it his best course to dissemble a repentance for his former evil life, by that means thinking he might retain the regal government, and in time be revenged of his enemies too. And thereupon, in the first place, he recalled his wife, and by that means endeavoured to make fair weather with the Britons. He assembles the heads of his subjects, and under a solemn oath to do so no more, he enacts an amnesty for what was past. He commits notorious criminals to prison, as if he had reserved them for farther punishment: and religiously promised that for the future he would act nothing without the counsel of his nobles. When by these arts he had made others believe that he was a true convert, he celebrates this reconciliation and concord with plays, feasting, and other entertainments proper for public rejoicings. Thus all men's minds being filled with jollity, he invites the nobility to supper; and then shutting them up in one place, being unarmed; and fearing nothing, he sent in ruffians amongst them, who destroyed them all to a man. That calamity did not so much abate and quell the minds of the rest with fear, as it raised and blew up their languishing anger into new flames; wherefore gathering a great army together, they all conspired to rid the earth of so foul a monster. Durstus perceiving that all other hope failed him, resolved to try his fortune in a battle, with a few others, whom the like fear of punishment for the wickedness of their former lives had drawn in to join with him; in which fight he was slain after he had reigned nine years. Though all orders and estates were justly incensed against him; yet they gave so great deference to the name of king, and to the memory of his ancestors, that he was buried amongst his royal predecessors.

EVENUS, the twelfth king.

AFTER his death, in public assembly of the nobles, there was a very great contest; some alleging, that according to their oath made to king Fergus, the ancient custom was to be observed; others fearing, that if they made any one of the kindred of Durstus king, either the similitude of manners would incline him to the same wickedness, or else the propinquity of blood would make him study revenge. At last, Evenus, cousin-german by the father's side to Durstus, being commended for his former life, and for his extreme hatred against the tyrant, whilst he was alive, was sent for from amongst the Picts, (whither he had voluntarily banished himself out of hatred to Durstus), and unanimously created king. He is reported to be the first who made his subjects take an oath of allegiance to him, which custom is yet retained by the heads of the

clans. Evenus, that he might rectify the manners of his subjects, which were depraved by the former king, did first reduce youth to the ancient parsimony in diet, apparel, and in their daily conversation. For by that means he judged, they would be more valiant in war, and less seditious in peace. He diligently visited all the parts of his kingdom, administering justice with great moderation, and punishing offenders according to their demerits. He assisted the king of the Picts with aids against the Britons, betwixt whom there was fought a long and cruel battle till night parted them; the victory being so uncertain, that both armies departed with equal slaughter, and as equal fear. The Britons went home, the Scots and Picts retired into the next adjacent mountains; but the day after, from the high grounds, perceiving the departure or flight of their enemies, they came and gathered up the spoils, as if they had been conquerors, and so returned home with their army. Evenus having repelled his enemies; again betook himself to the arts of peace. And that kings might not have the trouble to travel over the countries so oft for the administering justice, (which was then their custom to do) he divided the kingdom into circuits, and settled ordinary judges to do that work. He also appointed informers to bring in accusations against the guilty; which office being found inconvenient, was either abrogated by a law, or else grew obsolete by custom. He died in the nineteenth year of his reign, leaving a base-born son, called Gillus, a crafty man, and desirous of the kingdom.

GILLUS, the thirteenth king.

THERE were yet living of the blood-royal, legitimate, twins, Dochamus and Dorgallus, the sons of Durstus. Though their age was not the cause of the difference, yet there arose a deadly feud between them concerning the kingdom, which was also farther increased by the fraud of Gillus. The matter being referred to the arbitration of their kindred, such was the obstinacy of the factions, that nothing could be determined. Gillus who advised each of them to kill one another, when his secret counsel took no effect, gathered together the chief of the nobles, and his kindred, (on pretence to end the controversy), into one place, where he suborned men, fit for his purpose, to raise a tumult, and to destroy them both. And then, as if he himself had been assaulted by treachery, he implored the aid of all that were present, and fled to Evonium, a place fortified by king Evenus. Having garrisoned that fort with part of the nobility, and other persons conscious of his crime, out of an high place in the castle he made a long oration to the people, who in great multitudes were gathered about him, concerning the rashness and obstinacy of the two brothers; he declaimed also against those assassins who killed them; but at last he told them, that he was left by Evenus, the guardian of the kingdom, as well as of his domestic affairs, till a new king could be chosen. When the peo-

ple heard this, though they believed it to be false, yet when they saw him fortified in a strong garrison, for fear of a greater mischief, they instantly swore fealty to him, and declared him king. He, though he had strengthened himself in the kingdom by the consent of the people, obtained as you have heard, yet, not thinking himself safe from the posterity of Durstus, as long as any of them were alive, resolved to destroy his nephews.

There remained alive of them Lismorus, Gormachus, and Ederus, the sons of Dochamus, son of Durstus; they were educated in the isle of Man. Thither Gillus went, on pretence to bring them home; and to the two elder he behaved himself with great reverence and respect, and carried them with him into Albium, cunningly pretending, that they being of a royal stock, should be educated in his court, suitable to their princely quality. As for Ederus, the younger, he left soldiers, on pretence of a guard to attend his person, to whom he gave command, on a certain appointed day, to kill him. But the disposition of Gillus being well known to all, the nurse, suspecting treachery to be hatching against the child, conveyed him secretly by night into the country of Argyle, and so she eluded Gillus, who sought in vain to find him out to destroy him; for she bred him up for some years privately in a cave under ground; whereupon Gillus, in a fury, put the two elder brothers of Ederus, and also their guard to death: but it being publicly reported, that Ederus was conveyed into Ireland, he made no further inquiry after him. And yet his cruelty rested not here, though he had slain the nephews of Durstus; for nor judging himself sufficiently secure, as long as any one of the royal progeny was yet alive, he caused all those who bore an alliance or friendship to them to be also put to death. The nobles, who were grieved at the present state of affairs, which was bad at present, and fearing that it would be worse, entered into a combination against him; and carried the matter with so much secrecy, that a war was begun against Gillus before he had notice that any preparations were making towards it. But, in levying an army against his opposers, he soon perceived how inconstant the fealty of man is towards wicked and flagitious princes. For there were very few that came in to him at his summons; and those that did were debauchees, such as were afraid of peace in regard of the wickedness of their former lives. And, therefore, distrusting his forces, he left his army, and in a fisher-boat was carried over into Ireland. In the mean time the Scots, that they might not be without a legal government, made Cadvallus, chief of those who combined against Gillus, their viceroy, to whom, upon a treaty, the forces of his enemies submitted, and were, upon their submission, received into his protection. When Cadvallus understood that Gillus was about to renew the war, and in order to it, was raising as many debauched persons as he could, he resolved to prevent him before he could gather a just army, and so to pursue him wheresoever he fled. First, he sailed

into the Æbudæ or Hebrides; there he caused Ederus, the only branch of the family of Durstus yet alive, to be brought to him, and gave order for his liberal and royal education. When Gillus heard of his march, he retired again into Ireland; there he engaged the clans of that nation, with great promises of reward, to endeavour his restoration to his kingdom; which if they could effect, then he would give them the Æbudæ islands for their reward. By these promises he gathered together a great army; Cadvallus having prepared all things for his transportation, was suddenly called back to clear himself from a false suspicion of affecting, or aspiring to, the kingly government.

EVENUS II. *the fourteenth king.*

THIS being the case, the first thing he did, was to take care that Evenus, an eminent person, the son of Dovallus, brother to king Finnanus, might, by the suffrages of the people be created king; who, having accepted the government, caused all places which were commodious for his enemies, and especially the maritime ones, to be filled with strong garrisons, that so his enemies might not make a sudden descent into his kingdom without opposition. Gillus hearing of this, did also alter his resolution, and sailed to the isle of Isla, and there, having wasted the country far and near with fire and sword, he returned back into Ireland. Evenus sends a great army thither, under the command of Cadvallus, that so he might exhaust the spring-head of the war. Neither did Gillus refuse to fight him, but being deserted by his men, who followed him for booty, rather than for love, he changed his apparel, and with a small company, fled into a neighbouring wood: the rest of his army being thus deserted by their general, and their fellow soldiers too, yielded to Cadvallus. After the battle was ended, they sought a long time for Gillus, and at last found him in a dark cave, where he was slain, the third year after he began his reign, and his head was brought to Cadvallus. Matters being thus happily settled in Ireland by Cadvallus, as he was returning home, he met not with the same felicity; for being tossed up and down in a grievous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his army, and all the prey they had gotten; which struck him into such a damp, that not long after he died of grief: the king indeed comforted him, but all in vain; and, praising his valour and success in the war, he cast all his miseries upon the crossness of fortune. The new king lifted up with this success, renewed a peace with the Picts; and, in confirmation of it, he took to wife the daughter of Getus, the third king of the Picts. But the sudden arrival and landing of the Orkney-men in Albium, quickly disturbed this public joy. However the king falling suddenly upon them, drove them out of the field to the mountains, and from thence, to the sea; and there being in a fright and hurry, whilst they crowded and hindered one another in endeavouring to ship themselves off again, they were all slain to a man. Belus their

king, despairing to obtain quarter, slew himself. Evenus having finished the war, returns to the work of peace, and constitutes two mart towns for trade in convenient places, *i. e.* Ennerlochry and Inverness, each of them receiving their name from rivers gliding by them. For Enner, amongst the ancient Scots, signifies a place where ships may come to land. He subdued the inhabitants of the Æbudæ, who, by reason of their long wars, were grown very licentious and quarrelsome. He reconciled their animosities, and appeased their disturbances, and soon after died, having reigned seventeen years.

EDERUS, the fifteenth king.

EDERUS, the son of Dochamus, was made king in his place; who, whilst he was reaping the sweet fruits of peace established both at home and abroad, and giving himself to the sport of hunting (according to the ancient custom of the nation) had news suddenly brought him, that one Bredius, an islander, of kin to the tyrant Gillus, was landed with a great army of soldiers, and plundered the country; he presently gathered together a powerful army against him, and marching as silently as he could in the night, he passed by the camp of his enemies, and set upon their ships in the road, which, by this sudden surprize, he easily mastered, and, killing the guard, he burnt the navy. In the morning, he led his army against the camp, which he easily took, finding the soldiers negligent, and in no order at all; many were slain on the spot, whilst they delayed either to fight or fly; the rest having their flight by sea prevented by the burning of their ships, were there taken and hanged. The booty was restored to the owners that could make their proper claims. A few years after, another of the kindred of Gillus, and out of the same island too, raised the like commotion, which had the same event and success; for his army was overthrown, his fleet burnt, the booty recovered back, and restored to the right owners. Thus having settled a firm peace, being very old, he fell sick, and died in the forty-eight year of his reign.

EVENUS III. the sixteenth king.

EVENUS III. succeeded him, a son unworthy of so good a father; for, not being contented with an hundred concubines of the noblest families, he published his impurities and his shame to the world by established laws. For he enacted, that every man might marry as many wives as he was able to maintain: and also, that before the marriage of noble virgins, the king should have one night's lodging with them; and the nobles the like, before the marriage of the plebeians: that the wives of plebeians should be common to the nobility. Luxury, cruelty, and covetousness, did (as they ordinarily do) attend and follow this flagitious wickedness. For his incomes and revenues not answering his expence, upon

pretended causes, the wealthier sort were put to death; and the king going shares with the robbers, by that means thieves were never punished. And thus the favour, which his permitting promiscuous lusts had obtained him from the corrupted youth, was again lost by his cruelty and rapaciousness. For, a conspiracy of the nobles being formed against him, he soon perceived that the friendship, and seeming union of wicked men, was not to be relied upon. For, as soon as they came to fight, he was deserted by his soldiers, and fell alive into his enemies hands, by whom he was thrown into the common goal. Cadallanus, who succeeded him as regent, demanding sentence to be pronounced against him, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But there, one of his enemies, either out of some old grudge for injuries received from him, or else hoping for favour, or at least impunity, for the murder of the king, strangled him by night in the prison, when he had reigned seven years. However, the murderer came to be hanged for his wicked pains.

METELLANUS, the seventeenth king.

METELLANUS, kinsman to Ederus, succeeded him in the throne; a prince no less dear to all for his excellent virtues, than Evenus was hated by them for his abominable vices. He was mightily prized and esteemed for this, that during his reign there was peace both at home and abroad. But it was some alloy to his happiness, that he could not abrogate the filthy laws of Evenus, being hindered by his nobility, who were too much addicted to luxury. His demise was in the thirtieth year of his reign.

CARATACUS, the eighteenth king.

METELLANUS dying without issue, the kingdom was conferred on Caratacus, son of Cadallanus, a young man of the royal blood. Soon after his accession to the throne, he quieted the people of the *Æbudæ* islands (who had raised commotions upon the death of their last king) but not without great trouble. Yet here I cannot easily believe what our writers, following Orosius, Eutropius and Bede do say, viz. That the *Orcades* were subdued by Claudius Cæsar, in his reign. Not that I think it a very hard thing for him to attempt a few islands, one by one, that lay scattered up and down in the stormy sea, and having but a few, and those too unarmed, inhabitants to defend them, and seeing they could not mutually help one another, to take them all in; nor that I think it incredible, that a navy might be sent by Claudius on that expedition, he being a man, as Orosius affirms, that sought for war and victory all the world over: but because Tacitus affirms, that, before the coming of Julius Agricola into Britain, that part of it was utterly unknown to the Romans. Caratacus reigned twenty years.

CORBREDUS, *the nineteenth king.*

CORBREDUS, his brother, succeeded him. He also subdued the islanders in many expeditions, a people that, almost in every interregnum, affected innovation, and excited new tumults. He also quite suppressed the banditti, which most infested the commonalty. Having settled peace, he returned to Albium, and making his progress over all Scotland, he repaired the places injured by war, and departed this life in the eighteenth year of his reign.

DARDANUS, *the twentieth king.*

THE convention of estates set up Dardanus, the nephew of Metellanus, in his stead, passing by the son of Corbredus, because of his young and tender years. No man, before him, ever came to the crown, of whom greater expectations were conceived, and no man did ever more egregiously deceive the people's hopes. Before he undertook the chief magistracy, he gave great proof of his liberality, temperance, and fortitude: so that in the beginning of his reign he was an indifferent good, and a tolerable king; but he had scarce sat three years upon the throne, before he ran headlong into all sorts of wickedness. He banished those who had been the sober and prudent counsellors of his father, because they were against his lewd practices. Only flatterers, and such as could invent new pleasures, were his bosom friends. He caused Cardorus, his own kinsman, to be put to death, because he reprov'd him for his extravagance in lawless pleasures; and yet he had been lord chief justice and chancellor too, under the former king. And a while after, many other persons, as they did excel in virtue, or in wealth, were circumvented by him, by one wile or other, and so unjustly brought to their ends. At last, to free himself from the fears of a successor, he took a resolution to destroy Corbredus Galdus, his kinsman with his brothers, who were royally educated in view of the kingdom. The charge of this assassination was committed to Cormoræus, one of his intimate friends. He being prevailed with by many gifts, but more promises, was sent to perpetrate the villany; but attempting it with less caution than such a butchery required, he was taken in the very fact, by some of Galdus's train, with a naked falchion in his hand; being arraigned and put to the torture, he confessed the author, and the designed order of the conspiracy, and so was executed immediately. When this wicked plot was divulged abroad, there was a general combination of almost all sorts of people against the king; in so much that having slain many of those who were panders to his lust, as fast as they could be met with, they endeavoured at last to make their way to the king himself, the source and fountain of all mischief. In the mean time, Conanus, one of the king's parasites, a man meanly descended, but highly respected and entrusted by his master, levied some troops, and had the confidence to send them forth against the no-

bles; but being deserted by them, he was taken and hanged. The commons, having now got Galdus for their general, found out Dardanus, who was looking out for a lurking place to secure himself; while they were apprehending of him, he endeavoured to lay violent hands on himself; but being prevented, he was brought to Galdus, and immediately put to death: his head was carried up and down in mockery, and his body thrown into a jakes, after he had reigned four years.

CORBRED II. *the twenty-first king.*

CORBRED II. surnamed Galdus, succeeded him; a prince equally dear to lords and commons; as well upon the account, and early proof, of his own personal virtue, and promising ingenuity, as for the memory of his worthy father. Some imagine, that he was that Galgacus, who is mentioned by Tacitus, and that he was surnamed Galdus by the Scots, because he had been educated amongst the Britons. For the Scots, according to their ancient custom, call all strangers Galds, or Galls; as the Germans call them Wals, as I shewed more at large above. After he had taken the government upon him, he increased the great hopes which had been pre-conceived of him: for, making an expedition into the islands of Sky and Lewis, he quelled the seditions which had been lately raised there, and suffered to come to an head, by the negligence of Dardanus; and quelled them too like a good prince, with a due and prudent mixture of mercy and severity. He slew the captains of those banditti, and forced the rest, for fear of punishment, either to be their own banishers, and fly, or else to return to their former rural employments: he, as I believe, was the first of the Scottish kings, that ever advanced his ensigns against the Romans, who had, by little and little, extended their empire even to his very borders. For Petilius Cercalis first broke the forces of the Brigantes, and his successor Julius Frontinus conquered the Silures. It is very probable, that the Scots and Picts sent aid to those nations, who were situate not far from their borders. Julius Agricola succeeded the former generals, who having overcome the Ordovices, and having reduced the island Man, when he was come to the narrowest part of Britain, thinking that it was not far to the end of the island, he was encouraged to the conquest of it all. And therefore in the third year of his generalship, he overcame and plundered the neighbouring countries of the Scots and Picts, until he came to the river Tay; and though his army was much distressed by the rigour of the season, yet he had time to build forts in all places convenient for defence; by which means he defeated the designs of his enemies, and withal broke their force. For till that time the adverse party, being men inured to hardship, would, though they lost ground every summer, very frequently recover it back again in winter, when the Roman legions were dispersed into winter quarters; and sometimes they would assault and take their enemies'

castles and garrisons, being not sufficiently fortified. But at that time, by the skill of Agrippa in building his forts, and by his diligence in making them defensible; and withal, by relieving them with his forces every year, their attempts were eluded. In the fourth year of his government, perceiving that the friths of Forth and of Clyde were only divided by a small tract of land, having fortified that place with garrisons, he spoiled the countries that ran towards the Irish sea. In his fifth year, he sent a fleet to sea, and made descents in many places, and plundered the maritime coasts, fortifying those that looked towards Ireland with garrisons, not only for that present occasion, but also that he might from thence more easily transport an army to that country. By this prudence of Agricola, the Scots and Picts being shut up in a narrow corner, and secluded from any commerce with the Britons, prepared themselves for the last great shock, the decisive blow: neither was Agricola less careful, but commanding his navy to fetch a compass about, to discover the utmost parts of the island, he led his army beyond the Forth, and drew towards the Caledonians: there the enemies being ready (as in a desperate case) to run their last hazard, assaulted some of the Roman garrisons; which struck such a terror into them, that some of the Romans, as fearing either the number of their enemies, or their obstinacy, by reason of the last degree of desperateness to which they were driven, were of opinion, that it would be best for them to retreat with their army into a place of greater safety. But their general being resolved to fight, when he was informed that the enemy approached him in three distinct brigades; he drew towards them, having divided his army into three squadrons also; which project almost proved his utter ruin. For his enemies understanding his design, did with their whole army assault one of his legions by night, and having killed the centinels, went nigh to have taken his whole camp: but being prevented by the coming in of the other legions, after they had fought desperately till day-light, they were at length put to flight, and retreated into the mountains and woods. These actions happened about the eighth year of his expeditions. Both parties prepared themselves, as for the finishing stroke, against the ensuing spring: the Romans judging, that the victory would put an end to the war; and their enemies looking upon their *all* to be at stake; and, that they were to fight for their liberty, lives, and for whatsoever is to be accounted dear and sacred amongst men: hereupon judging, that in former battles they were overcome by stratagem rather than by valour, they betook themselves to the higher grounds; and, at the foot of mount Grampius, waited the approach of the Romans. There a bloody fight was begun betwixt them: the victory was a considerable time doubtful; at last, all the valiant men of the Caledonians being slain, the rest having their courage cooled, were forced to retreat to their fastnesses. After this battle, there was no doubt at all, but that Agricola would have subdued all Britain, by the force of his con-

quering arms, if he had not been called home by Domitian; not for the honour of his victories, as was pretended, but for his destruction and death. After his departure, sedition grew to a great head in the Roman camp; and the Scots and Picts very glad of the occasion, and very much encouraged by it, began to creep out of the places where they lay lurking before; and perceiving that the Romans had not a general, nor the same camp discipline as before, they sent envoys up and down, to try the inclination, not only of their own countrymen but likewise of the Britons. Thus, in the first place, being emboldened by having success in some small skirmishes, they began more and more to take heart, and to assault garrisons; and at last, with a formed army, they resolved to venture the hazard of a pitched battle. By this means the Romans were expelled out of their territories, and were forced, with doubtful success, to contend with the Britons for their ancient province. Galdus having obtained a respite from arms, made his progress all over the several countries of the land, and resettled the old owners in their habitations, which had been almost destroyed by the war: as for the places which were wholly unpeopled, he sent his soldiers to inhabit them. And having restrained the frequent robberies which were wont to be committed, he composed the differences which began to arise betwixt him and the Picts. At length, in great glory and esteem, both with friends and foes, he died, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

LUCTACUS, *the twenty-second king.*

So good a father was succeeded by Luctacus, as bad a son; who despising the counsel of his nobles, gave himself wholly up to wine and women. No nearness of alliance, no reverence of the laws, no respect of nobility, or of conjugal relation, could restrain him from committing the vilest lewdness with the fair unhappy creatures that he had a mind to. Add to this, that he was inhumanly cruel, and also insatiably covetous. All the young men, who are evermore inclinable to the worse, too soon and too easily degenerated into the manners of their king. So, that at last, when he had defiled all with whoredom, rapines and slaughters, and no one man durst oppose his exorbitant power, an assembly of the states being called together, and speaking freely concerning the state of the kingdom, he commanded the nobles, as seditious persons, to be led out to execution; but by the concourse of the intervening multitude, both he, and also the lothed ministers of his lust and lewdness were slain, when he had scarce finished the third year of his reign. Out of honour to his father, his body was allowed to be interred amongst the sepulchres of his ancestors; but the bodies of his associates were thrown up and down, and had not the privilege of common burial.

MOGALDUS, *the twenty-third king.*

AFTER him, Mogaldus was elected king, grandson to Galdus, and nephew to Luctacus by the mother's side: in the beginning of his reign he equalled the best of kings; but, growing older, he was tainted with vices, and easily degenerated into the manners of his uncle. When he first entered on the government, that he might with the greater ease reform the vicious practices of the former king, which had even corrupted the public manners, he made peace with his neighbours; he restored the ancient ceremonies in religion, which had been carelessly neglected: he banished all pimps, and all the instruments of lust and debauchery from court, and did every thing by the advice of the estates, according to the ancient custom; by which deportment he procured to himself love at home, and reverence abroad. Having settled matters at home, he turned his mind to warlike affairs, and drove out the Romans from the borders of his kingdom; and by his auxiliaries, assisted the Picts against the injuries of the Romans: nay, and in some prosperous battles, he so weakened the Roman power amongst the Britons, that they also were put in some hopes of recovering their liberty; and to compass so good an end, took up arms in many places. These hopes of theirs increased, because the emperor Adrian had recalled Julius Severus, a fierce and skilful warrior, out of Britain into Syria, to quell the seditions of the Jews; and the tumults more and more increasing, it came to that pass at last, that Adrian himself was forced to go over from Gallia into Britain: but he, being a greater lover of peace than war, desired rather to maintain the bounds of his empire, than to enlarge them. Whereupon, when he came to York, and found the country beyond it to be harassed by the war, he resolved to take a particular view of the devastation, and so marched his army to the river Tyne; where being informed by the old soldiers who had followed Agricola, almost to the utmost bounds of Britain, that there would be more pains than profit in conquering the rest of the island, he built a wall and trench for the space of eighty miles, between the friths of the rivers Tyne and Esk; and so excluded the Scots and Picts from their provincials; and having settled the state of the province, he returned back from whence he came. Here I cannot but take notice, that, since there yet remain several marks of this wall, in many places, it is a wonder to me, that Bede should wholly omit to mention it; especially, since *Ælius Spartianus* hath taken notice of it, in the life of Adrian; and also *Herodian*, in the life of Severus. I cannot persuade myself, that Bede could be so mistaken, to think, as many yet do, that that wall was not made by Adrian, but by Severus. This by the by.

Hereupon the Roman province was quieted, the excursions of their neighbours were prevented, and peace was kept up between them for a great while. The Britons easily embraced it, and the

Scots and Picts had got an opportunity by it to divide the neighbouring lands, as a prey, amongst themselves. But that peace, besides the prejudice it did to the body, by weakening its vigour, through sloth and idleness, did also enervate the mind, by the baits of pleasure, which then began to tickle it; for by that means Mogaldus, till then unconquered in war, forgetting the glory of his ancestors, ran headlong into all kind of vice; and besides other pernicious and foul miscarriages, pejudicial to the public, he made a most unjust law, "That the estates of such as were condemned, should be forfeited to his exchequer, no part thereof being allotted to their wives or children." This law is yet observed and pleaded for by the officers of the king's revenue, who are willing to gratify his lust, though they then did, and yet do, know, that it is an unjust and inhuman institution. Mogaldus having thus made himself obnoxious and hateful to the nobles and commons, being unable to resist their combinations, with one or two of his companions he sought to run and hide himself from their fury; but before he could execute his project, he was taken, and put to death, after he had reigned thirty-six years. This was done about the sixth year of the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius.

CONARUS, the twenty-fourth king.

CONARUS his son succeeded him, who beginning very ill, concluded his wicked reign as unhappily as he began it. For he was not only conscious and privy to, but also a partner in, the conspiracy against his father. However, to cover his faults, in the beginning of his reign there happened to break out a war very opportunely for him; for the Britons, having passed Adrian's wall, took away great store of men and cattle. Upon that Conarus, by the advice of his council, joining his army with the Picts, passed over Adrian's wall in many places, and made great havoc in the Britons' country; and at last, encountering their enemy, a great and bloody battle was fought betwixt them, the Romans and Britons. The slaughter was almost equal on both sides, which occasioned peace betwixt them, till the next year; yet the Romans, because they were not conquerors, looked upon themselves as in a manner conquered. Their own forces being much lessened, and Adrian putting no great confidence in the Britons, who, as he found, conceived some hopes of liberty from his misfortunes, he sent to Antoninus Pius, for aids; laying the blame of the violation of the peace upon the Scots and Picts, and of the loss and slaughter of his men, upon the Britons. Lollius Urbicus was sent over lieutenant-general by the emperor, who overcame his enemy in a bloody battle, and drove them beyond the wall of Adrian, which he again repaired. Afterwards there was a cessation of arms for many years, as if a silent truce had been made; for the Romans thought it enough to keep the enemy from ravaging and plundering, and for that end their camp was pitched on the borders: and Conarus, who lov-

ed nothing in war, but the licentiousness that was the consequence of it, made haste to return home, that he might employ that vacancy wholly to immerge himself in pleasures; and now those vices, which he had before concealed, on design to gain the love of others, began to appear barefaced. And when, by his art of dissimulation, he judged the kingdom sure to him; he was just as profuse in spending immense treasures on his own lusts and pleasures, as his ancestors had been diligent and industrious in procuring them: insomuch that in a very short time, he was reduced to great want. At length convening an assembly of the estates, he made a long and plausible oration of the grandeur and magnificence which was necessary for kings; and complained of the lowness of his exchequer; thus covering his vices under the specious name of gallantry and magnificence: he became also an earnest suitor, that a valuation of every man's estate should be made, and a proportionable tax imposed on each individual. This speech was unacceptable to all that heard it, whose answer was, that the matter was of more moment than to be determined on a sudden; upon this account the estates, having obtained a short time for consultation, upon asking every particular man's opinion, soon found, that this new device of demanding such a vast sum of money, did not proceed from the nobles, but from some court parasites; and accordingly they voted, that the king should be kept prisoner, as unfit to reign; until upon his abjuration of the government, they substituted another. When they met the next day, he who was first demanded to give his vote, made a sharp speech and invective against the former part of the king's life; saying, That bawds, parasites, minstrels, and troops of harlots, were not fit instruments for kings and kingdoms, as being useless in war, and troublesome in peace; besides, they were costly and full of infamy and disgrace. He added, The complaint was false, that the king's revenue and income was not sufficient for his expence; since it had sufficed a great many of their former kings, to make them formidable to their enemies in war, and to live nobly and splendidly upon it in time of peace. But if any be of opinion, that the public revenue is too short, then, said he, let a supplement be made, not out of the subject's purse, but out of the prince's own domestic parsimony. He farther added, That the measure of expence was not to be taken from the lust and exorbitant desires of men, which were infinite, but from the ability of the people, and the real necessities of nature. And therefore it was his opinion, that those villains, upon whom the public patrimony was conferred, and for whose sake the king had undone so many worthy persons of good rank and quality, by despoiling them of their estates, and putting them to death, should be compelled, by law and torture too, to refund that to the lawful owners, which they had unjustly got as the reward of their flattery. In the mean time, he advised that the king should be kept a prisoner till they could substitute another, that would not only inure himself to thrift, but al-

so teach others, by his example, to live hardly and parsimoniously, as his forefathers had done, that so the strict discipline, received from their ancestors, might be transmitted to posterity.

This speech, as it was sharp enough of itself, so it seemed more cutting to those who had velvet ears, and were unaccustomed to hear such free and bold discourses. Neither did the king endeavour to allay the hearts of his people by fair and gentle words, but rather by fierce and menacing expressions, did the more vehemently inflame and provoke them; so that amidst these disputes and bickerings, a tumult arising, some that were next the king laid hands on him, and conveyed him, with some few others, into a cave under ground, where they imprisoned them. Those courtiers, who had been the authors of such wicked counsels, were presently put to death; and lest any tumult of the mobile should arise upon this dissolution of the bonds of government, one Argadus, a nobleman, was made viceroy, till the people could conveniently meet to set up a new king. Argadus, though in the beginning of his administration, settled all things with great equity, and thereby procured much commendation by his moderate deportment; yet his mind being corrupted by prosperity, he soon lost all the credit of his former praise-worthy life. For he cherished home-bred seditions, and strengthened his authority by foreign aids, having such great familiarity with the chief of the Picts, that he took a wife from amongst them, and gave his daughters to them in marriage; by which practice, it soon appeared, that he aspired to the crown. These things being laid to his charge in a public assembly, wherein he was much blamed for his so sudden degeneration and apostasy, he was altogether ashamed, and knowing them to be true, he burst into tears; and as soon as his weeping gave him liberty to speak, being unable to purge himself from the objected crimes, he craved mercy, and humbly deprecated the punishment of his offences; "Which," said he, "if I can obtain, I will recompense and make amends for my errors in government by my future care, industry, and valour." These things he humbly supplicated upon his knees, so that the anger of the nobles being now turned into pity, they lifted him up from the ground, and ordered him to continue in the government, remitting his own punishment to himself. As for them, they were well enough satisfied, if he did now truly and heartily repent of what he had done amiss heretofore. From that day forward, Argadus assembled the wisest men of the whole kingdom about him, and acted nothing but by their advice; nay, during the remainder of his magistracy, he enacted many laws for the good of the public, of which this was the chief; That he restrained the arbitrariness of provincial judges, and forbade them to give sentence against all offenders alike; but to have respect to alleviating circumstances, where any such were. He either restrained, or put to death, flagitious persons, and amended the public manners, which had been cor-

rupted by a long course of licentiousness, not only by inflicting legal punishments on transgressors of the laws, but by affording them the leading example of his own regular life. Whilst these things were acting, Conarus, partly afflicted with grief, and partly worn out by diseases, ended his loathsome and ignominious life in prison, in the fourteenth year of his reign.

ETHODIUS, the twenty-fifth king.

ETHODIUS was set up in his stead, Mogaldus' sister's son; he immediately convened the estates, and thereupon highly extolled Argadus, and after he had bestowed on him great honours, and large rewards, he made him plenipotentiary under him, for the administration of the government; when he had made his progress to view all the countries and parts of his dominions, according to custom, he sailed over to the *Æbudæ* islands; Argadus was sent by him to quell the disturbers of the public peace, who soon suppressed them, and brought them prisoners to the king. These combustions thus appeased, he returned into Albium; but the islanders being freed by his absence from their present fear; and farther, being persuaded by false reports spread abroad, that he was engaged in a foreign war; and besides, being provoked, rather than suppressed, by the punishment of their associates, began to raise new tumults. Argadus was again sent to suppress them, but they, being assisted both by Picts and Irish, gave him battle, without any delay, in which fight Argadus himself, being circumvented by treachery, was slain: that blow made the king lay aside all other business, and to march thither himself; where he so wasted them with some light occasional skirmishes, and by his frequent alarms and inroads upon them, that, being inferior to him in force, they retired into a valley, encompassed on all sides with craggy rocks, having only one passage leading to it, that so the conveniency of the place, as they thought, might somewhat contribute to their safety. Ethodius perceiving the disadvantage of the place for his enemy, disposed of his guards in fit avenues; and also made a graft at the mouth of the passage, by which means they were brought to that extreme penury of all things, that they were forced to yield up themselves to the king at discretion. They were willing to accept of any conditions, but the king gave them only these: "That two hundred of them, such as the king should call out, with their general, should be surrendered up to him; the rest should, every man, return to his own home." The punishment of those who were thus given up, being presently inflicted on them, had almost raised up a new sedition; for the common soldiers were so enraged at so terrible a spectacle, that, for want of arms, they threw stones at the king's officers; neither was their tumultuous fury allayed without much bloodshed. Thus Ethodius having settled peace every where, in order to the administration of justice, made his progress over all his kingdom, much delighting himself in hunting by the way, so that he made many hunt-

ing laws, of which a great part are observed to this very day. He had an Irish musician, or harper, lying all night in his bed-chamber, (according to the custom of the Scottish nobility,) by whom he was slain in the night, in revenge of a kinsman of his, whom, he said, the king had put to death. This fellow, when he was led forth to execution, was so unconcerned at his torture, that he seemed to be very glad, as if he had done but his duty, and acted his part with applause.

SATRAEL, the twenty-sixth king.

ETHODIUS being thus slain, when he had reigned three and thirty years, and his son being not of age fit to govern, his brother Satrael was elected king. This man being of a depraved, yet cunning disposition, endeavoured to establish the kingdom in his own family, and so to destroy the sons of Ethodius: in order whereunto, those nobles who were most dear to Ethodius, were, by calumnies purposely devised, suppressed and slain by him. Afterwards, because the commons very much regretted the slaughter of their nobles, he began to oppress them also; which matter, in a little time, so increased the hatred conceived against him, and so diminished his authority, that tumults and seditions were its immediate consequences. He durst not appear to suppress them, because he knew he lay under a public odium; so that, while he was playing at hide-and-seek at home, he was put to death by his own men in the night, when he had reigned four years.

DONALDUS I. the twenty-seventh king.

DONALDUS, another brother of Ethodius, was set up in his room, who equalled, nay exceeded, the vices of Satrael, by as great, and as many contrary virtues. This prince's clemency, joined with his love of equity, did very much enhance the price of his other excellencies. He, by the terror and weight of his authority, and also by present punishments inflicted, quelled all intestine commotions; and rightly conceiving, that the soldiery, who were before wanton and idle, and spoiled by luxury, might be made more ready to resist an enemy, he caused a muster to be made of them, and so accustomed them to training and exercising their arms, and military discipline, that, in a short time, the new listed novices in war equalled the valour of the veterans and old soldiers. The peace which he had abroad, did much forward this design. For the Roman legions, some few years before, made a mutiny in Britain, as desiring any other general rather than Commodus, and especially Ælius Pertinax, who was sent to suppress them; so that leaving the Scots and Picts, they turned the whole stress of the war upon themselves. It was also a farther advantage to him, in order to a peace, that Donaldus had, first of all the Scottish kings, embraced the Christian religion; yet neither he, nor some other of the succeeding kings, though a great part of the nobility favoured the de-

sign, could wholly extirpate the old heathenish rites and ceremonies. But the expedition of Severus the emperor falling out in his time, mightily disturbed all his measures, both public and private. For Severus, being very skilful in military affairs, brought so many forces into Britain, in hopes to conquer the whole island, as never any Roman general had done before himself. There were also other causes for this expedition of his, as the corrupt life of his sons, by reason of the vices reigning in Rome, and the effeminacy of his army, occasioned by sloth and lying still; to remedy these mischiefs, he thought it best to put them upon action. Upon his arrival, the private tumults, which were about to break forth, were suppressed, and the Scots and Picts leaving the counties near the enemy, retreated to places of greater safety, and more difficult access. Severus, that he might, once for all, put an end to the British wars, led his army through all the waste places, deserted by their inhabitants, against the Caledonians. Though his enemy did not dare to give him battle in the field, he was much incommoded by the coldness of the country, and underwent a great deal of trouble, to cut down woods, to level hills, and to throw vast heaps of earth into the marsh-grounds, and also to erect bridges over rivers, to make a passage for his army. In the mean time, the enemy despairing of success, if they should fight so great a multitude in a pitched battle, did here and there leave herds of their cattle, on purpose as a prey to them, that so they might stop the Romans, who, in hopes of such booties, were enticed to stray far from their camp; and indeed the Romans, besides those that being thus dispersed, were taken in the ambushes laid for them, were also much prejudiced by continual rains; and being wearied with long marches, and so not able to follow, were, in many places, slain by their own fellows, that so they might not fall alive into the hands of their enemies. Yet notwithstanding, though they had lost fifty thousand of their soldiers, (as Dion writes,) they did not desist from their enterprise, till they had penetrated even to the end and extreme bounds of the island. As for Severus himself, though he was sick during this whole expedition, and thereupon was fain to be carried in a covered horse-litter; yet, by his incredible obstinacy and perseverance, he made his enemies to accept of conditions of peace, and to yield up to him no small part of their country. He built a wall as a mound to the Roman empire, between the friths of Forth and Clyde, where Agricola, before him, had also determined to bound their provinces. That wall, where it toucheth the river Carron, had a garrison on it, so situate, and the ways and passages so laid out, that it was like a small city; which some of our countrymen, tho' by a mistake, do think to be Maldon. But it is more probable that this was the city which Bede calls Guidi. A few years before this was written, some footsteps of trenches, walls, and streets appeared; neither yet are all the walls so demolished, but that they discover themselves visibly in many places; and when the earth is a little

digged up, square stones are quarried out, which the owners of the neighbouring countries use in building their houses. Nay, sometimes stones with inscriptions on them are found, which shew that it was a Roman pile of building. Those words of Ælius Spartianus demonstrate the noble grandeur of this structure. He strengthened Britain (says he) "with a wall drawn cross-ways over the island, from sea to sea, which is the greatest ornament of the empire." By which words he seems to intimate, that it was not a trench, as Bede would have it, but a wall, especially since he gives such a commendation to a work, which is shorter by half than Adrian's wall. Nay, this fortification, where it is least distant, yet is eighty miles off from the wall of Adrian. There are also other indications of that peace, if I mistake not. For, a little below that garrison, of which I have spoken, there is a round edifice on the opposite side of the river Carron, made of square stones, heaped on one another, without lime or mortar. It is no bigger than a small pigeon-house; the top of it is open, but the other parts are whole, save that the upper lintel of the door, wherein the name of the builder and work is thought to have been inscribed, was taken away by Edward I. king of England; who did also invidiously deface all the rest of the old Scottish monuments, as much as ever he could. Some think, and have written, though erroneously, that that structure was the temple of Claudius Cæsar. But my conjecture is rather, that it was the temple of the heathen god Terminus. There were also, on the left bank of the same river, two hillocks, or barrows of earth, raised (as it sufficiently appears) by the hands of men in a small plain. A great part of the less, which inclines more to the west, is swept away by the washings and overflowings of the river; the neighbouring inhabitants call them yet *Duni pacis*. So that peace being again procured by this division of the island, and all matters being in a manner accommodated, Donaldus departed this life, after having reigned twenty-one years.

ETHODIUS II. *the twenty-eighth king.*

ETHODIUS II. son of the former Ethodius, was substituted in his room, a man almost stupid. This is certain, he was of a more languid and soft disposition, than was fit for the government of such a fierce and warlike people; which being taken notice of, the nobles, in a convention, bore that reverence to the progeny of king Fergus, that they left the name of king to Ethodius, as slothful as he was; but yet not guilty of any notorious wickedness; but they set deputies over all the provinces, to administer justice there; whose moderation and equity did so regulate matters, that Scotland was never in a quieter state. For they did not only punish offenders, but also made the immoderate covetousness of the king be no burden to the people. This king in the twenty-first year of his reign was slain in a tumult of his own officers.

ATHIRCO, the twenty-ninth king.

ATHIRCO his son, manifesting greater ingenuity than is usually found in such a youthful age, was therefore made king: for, by his manly exercises in riding, throwing the dart, and vying with his young courtiers in feats of arms; as also by his bounty and courteous demeanour, he won to himself the love of all. But his vices increasing with his age, by his profound avarice, peevishness, luxury and sloth, he so alienated the minds of good men from him, that the more the sons were delighted with his nefarious practices, the more their fathers were offended at them. At last, a conspiracy of the nobles was formed against him, occasioned by one Nathalocus, a nobleman, whose daughters, being first deflowered by him, and then ignominiously beaten with rods, he prostituted to the lust of those ruffians that were about him. He endeavoured to defend himself against them, but perceiving he had not force enough so to do, being also forsaken by his domestics, who detested his lewd practices, he laid violent hands on himself, in the twelfth year of his reign. After his death Dorus, either because he was his brother, or else had been a pander to his lust, fearing lest the nobles, in the heat of their provocation, should exercise their rage upon all the king's lineage, saved himself by flight, with his brother's three young children, Findochus, Carantius, and Donaldus. Neither was he mistaken in his opinion; for Nathalocus, who had received so signal an injury, not contented with Dorus's exile, suborned emissaries to kill him, and his brother's children too; who coming to the Picts, (for the royal youths had chosen the place of their banishment amongst them), and lighting upon one very like Dorus, in stature and physiognomy, they slew him, instead of Dorus himself.

NATHALOCUS, the thirtieth king.

NATHALOCUS, thinking that he had slain him who stood most in his way, was the first that canvassed for the kingdom of Scotland. It is true, a great part of the nobility were against him; yet, by means of those whom he had corrupted by promises and bribes, he carried the point, and was made king. Neither did he manage the kingdom any better than he got it. For suspecting the nobility, which, in the parliaments of the kingdom, he had found to be adverse to him, he governed all by the ministry of such plebeians, whom audaciousness and penury (he knew) would easily incline to any wickedness. Besides those suspicions I have mentioned, he was encountered with a far more grievous one; for, intercepting letters directed to some of the chief nobles, he understood by them, that Dorus, and the children of Athirco, were yet alive, and were brought up amongst the Picts, in hopes of the kingdom. To avoid this danger, he sent for those nobles, whom he most suspected, to come to him, pretending he had need of their advice in the public affairs of the kingdom. When they were assembled, he shut them

all up in prison, and the very next night caused them all to be strangled. But that which he hoped would be a remedy to his fears, was but as a firebrand to raise up another conspiracy. For the friends of those who were slain being afraid of themselves, as well as grieved for the loss of their relations and kindred, unanimously take up arms against him. Whilst he was raising an army to oppose them, he was slain by one of his own domestics about the twelfth year of his reign. Some of our countrymen do add a tale in the case, which is more handsomely contrived, than likely to be true: That the very man who slew the king, had been before sent by him to soothsayers, to enquire concerning the king's victories, his life, and kingdom; and that an old wizard should answer him, "That the king should not live long, but his danger would arise, not from his enemies, but from his domestics;" and when he pressed the woman, "From which of them?" She replied, "even from thyself, man." Whereupon he cursed the woman; yet returning home in a great quandary, he thought with himself, that the woman's answer could not be concealed; and yet it was not safe for him to declare it, lest he should render himself suspected to the king, who was a depraved person, and guided wholly by his own fears; and therefore it seemed to him the safest course to kill the tyrant with the favour of many, than to preserve him alive, with the extreme hazard of his own life. Presently after he returned home, having obtained leave for a private access, to declare the secret answer of the oracle, or conjuror, he slew the king, just then entering upon the twelfth year of his reign; and so freed his country from bondage, and himself from danger.

FINDOCHUS, the thirty-first king.

WHEN the last king's death was publicly known, the sons of Athirco were called home. Findochus, besides his being of the royal family, was also happy in several rich gifts of nature; he was exceedingly beautiful, tall of stature, and in the flower of his age; and having, beside all these accomplishments, the recommendation of having suffered many afflictions very heroically, he was chosen king. Neither did he deceive men's expectations; for in his ordinary deportment he was very courteous; in administering of justice equal and impartial; and a conscientious performer of all his promises. But Donaldus the islander, being weary of peace, sailed over with a numerous army into Albium; and making havoc of the villages where he came, returned home with a great booty. His pretence for the war was, the revenge of the death of king Nathalocus. Findochus speedily listed an army against him, and transporting them into the island, he overthrew Donaldus in battle, and forced him to fly for refuge to his ships; many were slain in the fight, and many were drowned, whilst they endeavoured in a hurry to get a ship-board. Donaldus himself being taken into the boat, endeavouring to escape, the boat sunk, by reason of the multitude of

those who overloaded it, and so he was drowned. However, the islanders not disheartened with this overthrow, after the departure of the king, sent for forces out of Ireland, and renewed the war, making Donaldus' son their general, in the room of his father; under whom they again made a descent into the continent, and drove away much booty. Upon this Findochus again conveyed his forces into the Æbudæ isles, and marching over all the islands, executed severe punishment on the plunderers; and overthrowing the forts, into which they were wont to fly, he made such a slaughter of the men, and carried away so much booty, that he left many of the islands almost desolate. Upon Findochus's return, Donaldus, who had fled for safety into Ireland, returning from thence, and endeavouring to recruit his armies, he found his forces so weakened, that he left off the thoughts of managing an open war, and resolved to betake himself to guile and stratagem. And in prosecution of that design, not daring to trust the king, though he had given him the public faith for his security, he sent two of his friends, persons both bold and crafty, as with a secret message, to him. They coming to Findochus, and boasting of their lineage and descent, and withal, grievously complaining of the wrongs they had received from Donaldus, yet could not induce the king to believe them: they therefore applied themselves to Carantius his brother, a shallow and ambitious person. Being admitted into an intimate familiarity with him, they were, by his means, made acquainted with the secret affairs of the state and commonwealth; and after feeling his pulse, and finding out his disposition, they had the boldness at last as to tell him they were sent over to kill the king. He hearing this, looked upon the kingdom as gotten by other men's wickedness and danger, now sure to himself, and therefore shewed them all the countenance and favour imaginable. Well, all things being prepared for the perpetration of the designed murder; whilst the king was hearing one of them relating the various adventures of his life, and the rest were busy in running to see a wild beast of an extraordinary size, the other thrust him through the breast with a hunting spear, and so murdered him. Upon the committing of this black crime, this execrable deed, there was a great clamour and a mighty concourse of people; some take up their dying king; others pursue the murderers, who were fortunately taken, and executed according to their impious deserts; yet they were not put to death before they had been racked; and by that means they confessed the design of Donaldus, and the wickedness of Carantius, who had withdrawn himself to dissemble the matter. This Carantius first fled to the Britons; but they hearing of the cause of his banishment, detested so execrable a guest; and therefore he went to the Roman camp.

DONALDUS II. *the thirty-second king.*

THE best of men, as well as of kings, being thus slain, by the detestable treachery of his brother, in the eleventh year of his reign; Donaldus, the youngest of his three brothers, was set up king in his stead. He, whilst he was preparing to revenge his brother's death, had word brought to him, that Donaldus the islander had entered Murray, not now carrying himself as a robber, but as a king. Immediately upon these advices, he, with a few of his soldiers, which were near at hand (having left a command for the rest to follow) marches directly towards the enemy. Donaldus being informed by his spies, that the king had but a small force with him, continued his march day and night, and by that means prevented the news of his approach. The king being thus surprised, and seeing that he could not avoid a battle, performed more than could have been expected from such a handful of men, but at length was overcome by his enemy's numbers; and being grievously wounded, with thirty more of the prime of his nobility, was taken prisoner; about three thousand men were slain in the fight, and two thousand taken. The king died within three days; either of his wounds, or of grief for the overthrow, having scarce reigned one year complete.

DONALDUS III. *the thirty-third king.*

UPON his death, Donaldus the islander, who before, without any authority, had assumed the name of king, now took upon him to manage all things as a legitimate prince; taking his advantage from the fear of the nobles, who (lest their kinsmen, who were prisoners with him, should be slain, which he daily threatened to do) durst not make any insurrections against him. He was a great tyrant in his government, and cruel to all his subjects; for he was not content, by an edict, to forbid any others to bear arms, but his own servants and officers too; and what is more, he hurried away several of the nobility to violent deaths, whose destruction he esteemed to be the establishment of his government; nay, he proceeded to sow seeds of discord amongst those who survived his barbarity; neither did he think any sight more lovely than the mutual slaughter of his subjects. For he counted their ruin was his gain, and judged himself to be freed of so many enemies as were slain out of both armies. Neither was he afraid of any thing more, than the union of his subjects against him. Hereupon he kept himself commonly within the verge of his own palace, and being conscious of the wrong he had done to all, as fearful of them, as he was formidable to them, he seldom went abroad. These miseries continuing twelve years, at length Crathilintus, the son of king Findochus, with much ado, was found out to revenge the public wrongs and calamities: he had been bred up privately with his foster father, and was thought to have been dead. But having few about him equal to him in strength or cunning, dissembling his name and lineage, he

first applied himself to court, and being received into near familiarity by the king, through the dexterity of his wit, he became his most intimate and greatest favourite. At last, when all things succeeded according to his desire, he discovered to a few of his confidants who he was, and what he designed; and gathering a small party about him, having got a convenient opportunity, he slew Donaldus, and departed privately with his associates.

CRATHILINTHUS, *the thirty-fourth king.*

WHEN the death of the tyrant was divulged, both the fact itself, and the authors of it too, were cried up to the skies with one general acclamation; so that Crathilinthus, upon the discovery and legal proof of his descent, was made king, with more unanimity and applause, than ever any king had been before him; in regard he had been the author, not only of their liberty, but of their safety too. At the beginning of his reign, by public consent, he caused the children and kindred of the tyrant to be put to death, as if he would extirpate tyranny from the very root. He afterwards made a progress over all his kingdom, to administer justice, as had been usual; and he repaired, as carefully as he could, the damages done by Donaldus. Thus having established peace at home and abroad, he spent his vacant hours in hunting, according to the custom of the country. Being on mount Grampius, at this royal sport, near the borders of the Picts, he very nobly entertained the gallant Pictish youths that came to visit him; nay, he was not content with that friendship, which had been anciently betwixt them, grounded on old acquaintance, and strengthened by a mutual peace, but he took them also into a nearer acquaintance and a closer familiarity: but that familiarity had like to have proved his ruin. For the Picts having stolen a dog of the Scottish king's, in which he took great delight, and the keeper having discovered the place where he was concealed, was killed as he was going to it, and endeavouring to bring him back: presently a great outcry was made, and a multitude of both parties were gathered together, between whom there was a sharp combat, and many were slain on both sides; amongst whom there were not a few of the young nobility of each nation; by which means were sown the seeds of a most cruel war betwixt them. For, from that day forward, each nation infested the other with hostile incursions, and never gave over till they met together with complete armies. Neither could peace be made up between them upon any terms, though both kings desired it. For though they were not ignorant how dangerous it was for them to be at war with one another, the Romans and Britons being their perpetual enemies and assailants; yet they were so maddened by, and so set upon, the desire of revenge, that, whilst they were eager on that account, they neglected the public calamity impending on them both: and truly, unless Carausius, a Roman exile, one of mean descent, but a good soldier, had interposed, they had fought it out to the last man, even till

both nations had been destroyed. This Carausius being sent to the sea coasts of Bologne by Diocletian to defend Belgic Armorica from the incursions of the Franks and Saxons, after he had taken many of the barbarians, yet would neither restore the prey to the provincials, the right owners, nor yet send it to the emperor; this gave an umbrage, that he purposely allowed the barbarians to plunder, that so he might rob them at their return, and enrich himself with the spoil. For this reason, Maximianus commanded him to be slain; but he, taking imperial authority upon him, seized upon Britain; and to strengthen his party against Bassianus, the Roman lieutenant-general, he reconciled the discords betwixt the Scots and Picts, and entered into a firm league and alliance with them both. The Romans made many attempts against him; but, by his skill in military affairs, he defeated all their designs: when he had restored the Scots and Picts into the possession of those lands which they formerly held, he was slain by his companion Allectus, after he had reigned seven years. Allectus having reigned three years, was slain by Asclepiodotus; and thus Britain was restored to the Romans, in the twelfth year after its revolt. But neither Asclepiodotus, nor the person who succeeded him, one Constantius Chlorus, did any memorable thing in Britain; but that this latter begat Constantine, afterwards emperor, on Helena, his concubine. Amidst these transactions, died Crathilinthus, after a reign of twenty-four years.

FINCORMACHUS, the thirty-fifth king.

FINCORMACHUS, his cousin-german, succeeded him, who performed many excellent exploits against the Romans, by the aid of the Britons and Picts; nay, he fought some battles with them without any auxiliaries at all. At length, when the Romans were weakened by their civil wars at home, and perpetual molestations abroad, matters being a little quieted, the Scots were also glad to embrace a peace: who, being thus freed from external cares, did principally endeavour to promote the Christian religion; they took this occasion to do it; because many of the British Christians being afraid of the cruelty of Diocletian, had fled to them; amongst which sundry eminent for learning and integrity of life, made their abode in Scotland, where they led a solitary life, with such an universal opinion of their sanctity, that, when they died, their cells were changed into temples or kirks. From hence the custom arose afterwards amongst the ancient Scots, to call temples cells. This sort of monks were called Culdees, whose name and order continued till a later sort of monks, divided into many sects, expelled them; yet these last were as far inferior to the former in learning and piety, as they exceeded them in wealth, in ceremonies, and in pomp of outward worship; by all which they pleased the eye, but infatuated the mind.

Fincormachus having settled affairs in Scotland with great equity,

and reduced his subjects to a more civil kind of life, died in the forty-seventh year of his reign.

ROMACHUS, the thirty-sixth king.

AFTER his death there was a great contest about the kingdom, between three cousin-germans, begot by the three brothers of Crathilinthus, whose names were Romachus, Fethelmachus, and Angusianus, or rather Æneanus. Romachus's plea was, that his father was the eldest of the three brothers of Crathilinthus, and that his mother was descended from the blood royal of the Picts; as also, that he himself was of a stirring and active disposition, and likely to procure friends and allies.

That which made for Angusianus, was his age and experience in the world, as also his admirable deportment, to which was added, the favour of the people; and that which was the principal of all, Fethelmachus, who was before his competitor, now voted for him. By reason of this sedition, the matter being like to be decided by arms, nothing could be concluded in the first convention of the estates, and when that was dissolved, the whole kingdom was divided into two factions; and Romachus, who was least in the favour of the people, called in the Picts militia for his assistance, that so he might strengthen himself by foreign aids.

Angusianus being informed that ambushes were laid for him, judged it better, once for all, to try the shock of a battle, than to live in perpetual solicitude and fear; for that end gathering his party into a body, he fought with Romachus; but being overcome by him, he and Fethelmachus fled together into the Æbudæ islands.

But perceiving that he could not be safe there, because his prowess rendered him formidable to the heads of the factions, and that he was also amongst a people naturally mercenary and venal, and corrupted by the promises of Romachus, he fled into Ireland with his friends. Romachus having thus removed his rival, and obtained the kingdom, rather by force than the good will of the people, exercised his power with a tyrannical sway over his enemies; and, to put a colour of law on the matter, when he went about the country to keep assizes, he asked no counsel of others, as was usual, but took all capital causes into his own cognisance; so that he made great execution amongst the people, and struck a panic fear into the hearts of all good men. At length, when every soul was wearied with the present state of affairs, the nobility made a sudden combination against him; and before he could gather his forces together, he was taken in his flight to the Picts, and put to death in the third year of his reign. His head was carried up and down, fastened to the top of a pole, and the people counted it a joyful spectacle.

ANGUSIANUS, the thirty-seventh king.

THIS done, Angusianus was recalled, by general consent, to rule the kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, they which were the ministers of cruelty and covetousness under Romachus, being afraid to live under so good a king, stirred up Nectanius, king of the Picts, to make war upon him, in revenge of his kinsman. Angusianus being a lover of peace, sent ambassadors to them very often, to advise them, that both nations would be much prejudiced by those divisions, in regard the Britons did but watch an opportunity to destroy them both. But they hearkened not, either out of confidence of their strength, or out of anger and vexation of spirit. So that, perceiving them to be averse from peace, he led forth his army against them; and, after a very sharp conflict, obtained the victory. The king of the Picts made his escape, with a few in his company; and, after he had a little mastered his fear, being inflamed with rage and fury, he obtained of his subjects, but with great difficulty, to raise him a new army: and when it was levied, he marched into Caledonia. Angusianus once more propounded terms of peace, but no ear being given to them, he drew his forces towards the enemy. The fight was maintained with equal obstinacy on both sides, one striving to retain their acquired glory, and the other to wipe away the ignominy and disgrace which they had formerly received. At length the Scots, Angusianus being slain, broke their ranks and ran away. Neither was the day unbloody to the Picts; the king likewise, and all his valiant warriors, being slain in that battle: the loss being in a manner equal on both sides, occasioned a peace between them for some short time. Angusianus reigned little above a year.

FETHELMACHUS, the thirty-eighth king.

FETHELMACHUS was made king in the room of Angusianus; when he had scarce reigned two years, he levied an army, and made great havoc of the Picts country: as soon as the enemy could meet him, they fought with a great slaughter on either side. For the main battle of the Picts, they having lost both their wings, was almost all encompassed round and taken, yet they died not unrevenge. The king of the Picts, three days after, died of his wounds. The Scots, making use of their victory, having no army at all to withstand them, made a great spoil all over the Picts country; for the Picts having received so great a blow, never durst oppose them with their whole force; only they appointed some small parties of their men, in fit time and place, to withstand the straggling troops of their enemy, that so they might not plunder far from home. In the mean time, one Hergustus, a crafty man, having undertaken the command of the Picts, inasmuch as he was inferior in force, he applied himself to fraud; for he sent two Picts, who, pretending themselves to be Scots, were to kill the king. They,

according to their instructions, treated with a certain musician about the murder of the king: for those sort of creatures are wont to lodge in the chambers of princes and noblemen, to relieve them whilst awake, and also to procure sleep: which custom still continues in all the British isles, amongst the old Scots: so that on a night agreed upon between them, the Picts were introduced by this minstrel, and so murdered the king as privately as they could; yet they could not carry it so secretly, but that the king's attendants were awakened at the hearing of his dying groans; and so pursued the authors of the villany; and when they could fly no farther, the king's officers took them, (though they threw stones at them to defend themselves from a steep rock), and hurried them back to execution.

EUGENIUS, or EVENUS I. *the thirty-ninth king.*

FETHELMACHUS being thus slain, in the third year of his reign, Eugenius or rather Evenus, the son of Fincormachus succeeded him. About that time, Maximus the Roman general, being in hopes to conquer the whole island, if he could destroy the Scots and Picts both, first of all he pretends many favourable respects to the Picts who were then the weaker party; and therefore, by consequence, more ready to treat with him. Then he filled with vain promises, that, if they would persevere in their alliance with the Romans, besides other innumerable advantages, they should have the Scots land to be divided amongst them. The Picts were caught with this bait, being blinded by anger, desirous of revenge, allured by promises, and regardless of future events; hereupon they joined their forces with the Romans, and spoiled the Scots country. Their first fight with them was at Cree, a river of Galloway; the Scots, being few in number, were easily overcome by a more numerous army, and being thus put to flight, the Romans pursuing them every way without any order, as being sure of the victory. In the mean time the Argyle men and some other forces of the remote parts, who were coming up to join with their vanquished friends, fell in good order upon the scattered troops of the Romans, and made a great slaughter amongst their enemies. Eugenius gathered up those whom he could recal from flight, and, calling a council of war, was advised, that since his forces were not sufficient to carry on the war, he should return back to Carrick. But as Maximus was pursuing his victory, word was brought him, that all was in a flame in the inner parts of Britain. The Scots were glad of his departure, as being eased of a great part of their enemies: and though they were scarce able to defend their own, yet, between anger and hope, they resolved, before the summer was past, to perform some great exploit against their adjacent enemies: and accordingly they poured in the remainders of their forces upon the Picts. As they marched, they slew all they met, without distinction, and put all about them to fire and sword. Maximus, though he threat-

ened and spoke contumeliously of the Scots, yet being equally joyful at the destruction of both nations, as soon as he found an opportunity, marched against the Scots, upon pretence to revenge the wrongs done by them to the Picts. The Scots, on the other side, being now to fight, not for glory, empire, or booty, but for their country, fortune, lives, and whatsoever else is near and dear to men, drew forth all that were able to bear arms; and not the men only, but women also, (according to the custom of the nation) prepared themselves for the last encounter, and pitched their tents not far from the river Down, and near their enemies camp. Both armies, being set in order of battle, first of all, the auxiliaries set upon the Scots, where, some fighting in hope, others incited by despair, there was a very sharp, though short, encounter; the Picts and Britons were repulsed with great loss, and had been certainly routed and put to flight, if seasonable relief had not come to them from the Romans. But, Maximus bringing on his legions, the Scots being inferior in number, in the nature of arms, and in their military discipline, were driven back and almost quite ruined. King Eugenius himself fell in this fight, as not being willing to survive his soldiers; and the greatest part of his nobles fell with him, as loth to forsake their king. Maximus, having obtained this great victory sooner than he hoped, and scarce finding any on whom he might wreak his hatred, mercifully returned to his former clemency; for marching over many provinces of the Scots, he took those that yielded themselves to mercy, and caused them to till the land; withal adding his commands, that they should be contented with their own, and not be offensive to their neighbours. The Picts taking this his clemency in evil part, alleged, that the Romans and their allies would never obtain a firm, solid peace, as long as the nation of the Scots, which were always unquiet, and took all opportunities to plunder, remained alive; adding farther, that Britain would never be secure, whilst any of the Scottish blood remained in it: that they were like wild beasts, who would be sweetened by no offices of love, nor would they be quiet, though they received ever so many losses; so that there would be no end of war, till the whole nation was extirpated. Maximus replied many things, in bar to such severities, as, that it was the ancient custom of the Romans, if they overcame any nation, to be so far from extirpating them, that they made many of them denizens of their city: that though they had almost conquered the whole world, yet never any people or nation were wholly eradicated by them: that he himself, having slain their king, with the flower of his army, had so quelled them, that now they were no longer to be feared, but rather pitied by their enemies. He farther urged, that his hatred against the Scots was as great as theirs; but if they considered the matter well, it would be a much more joyful spectacle, to behold the miseries of them living, than the bloody graves of the slain; nay, that it was a more grievous punishment to live a dying life, than by once dying, to put

an end to all miseries. This was the sum of the discourse which he made, not so much out of any affection to the Scots, as out of an abomination of the Picts cruelty. Moreover, he had an eye to the future, as judging it extremely hazardous to the Roman province, if the forces of the Picts, upon the extirpation of the Scots, should be doubled. But the Picts did so ply him with complaints, supplications and gifts, that at length they obtained an edict from him, that all the Scots should depart out of Britain by a certain day, and the man that was found there after the time limited, should be put to death. Their country was divided betwixt the Picts and Britons.

Thus the surviving Scots, as every man's fortune led him, were scattered over Ireland, the *Æbudæ* islands, through Scandia, and the Cimbric Chersonesus, and were in all places kindly received by the inhabitants. But the Picts, though they made public profession of the Christian religion, yet could not forbear committing injuries against the priests and monks, which in that age, were held in great veneration. So that those poor ecclesiastics were dispersed into all the countries round about, and many of them came into Icolmkill, one of the *Æbudæ* islands, where, being gathered together in a monastery, they transmitted an high opinion of their piety and holiness to posterity. The rest of the Scots being thus afflicted by wars, exiled from their countries, and in despair of returning thither again; the inhabitants of the *Æbudæ* isles, being of a fierce and unquiet nature, idle, poor, abounding in men, yet wanting necessaries, thought that they ought to attempt something of themselves: and so gathering a navy of birlins, and small ships together, under Gillo their commander, they landed in the county of Argyle. Having made their descent there, and dispersing and scattering themselves, amongst a country almost wholly destitute of inhabitants, to fetch in booty, they were circumvented by the Picts, who were sent to assist the inhabitants, and placed in garrison there; and their retreat to their ships being cut off, were all slain to a man. Their whole navy was taken, and reserved for service against the islanders. And not long after, they who fled to Ireland, partly out of remembrance of their ancient alliance, and partly out of commiseration of their fortune, easily incited a nation, naturally inclined to war and plunder, to afford them aid to recover their country and ancient patrimony. Ten thousand auxiliaries were allowed them, who landing in that part of Scotland, which is opposite to Ireland, struck a great terror into the people all the country over. Being encouraged by their first happy success, when they were consulting how to carry on the war, the Albion Scots, well knowing the strength of the Romans, and how much they exceeded other nations in their skill as to military affairs, persuaded them to be contented with their present victory, and to return home with their booty, and not stay till the whole of Britain was gathered together, to assault them. And since the forces of all Ireland, if they had

been there, could not withstand the Roman army, which, by its conduct and valour, had almost subdued the universe; therefore, they were to deal with them, not by open force, but by subtlety: That they were to watch opportunities, and since they could not match their enemies in number, force, or military skill, that, therefore, they should tire them out with toil and labour. And that this was the only method of rightly managing the war with them.

The Irish Scots, on the other side, blamed those of Albion, whose former valour was now so languid, that, though they were the offspring of those who had almost overthrown whole armies of the Romans, yet could not now look them in the face; nay, there were some of the Albion Scots themselves of the same opinion, alleging that this method of war, propounded by their countrymen, was very vain and frivolous, serving only to gall the enemy, but not to recover their own country; and that, therefore, they ought to follow their good fortune, and not to think of returning till she made way for them. And if they would act thus, then no doubt but God, who had blessed them with such prosperous beginnings, would bless their arms, so as to lessen the power of the enemy, either by raising up new tumults amongst the Britons, or by calling off the Roman legions to a war nearer home. That the occasion now offered, was not to be neglected, lest hereafter it might be sought for in vain. This opinion prevailed, and so they joyfully returned to their prey. Thus, whilst in hopes to recover what they had lost, they indulged their own will, rather rashly than prudently, being immediately overpowered by greater forces, they lost the best part of their men. This slaughter being made known in Ireland, cut off all hopes of return from the Scots, and made the Irish fear, lest they also should not retain their liberty long; so that, after many consultations, they could find no way more advisable, than that the Irish Scots should send ambassadors into Britain to make peace with the Romans upon the best conditions they could procure. Upon their arrival, Maximus first of all severely rebuked them, for that, without any provocation, they had causelessly excited the Roman arms against them. The ambassadors, in excuse, laid the blame on the rude rabble, and so they obtained pardon. The peace was made on these conditions, That the Hibernians, after that day, should never entertain or shelter any enemies of the Romans; that they should forbear to offer any injury to their allies; and that they should manage their government with a friendly respect to the Romans. The Hibernians having thus obtained better terms than they expected, returned joyfully home. That which inclined Maximus to make this easy pacification was, not his fear of the Hibernians, (for he did not much value all the disturbance they could give him,) but because his mind being intent upon hopes of greater matters, he was willing to leave all Britain not only quiet and free from war, but also affectionate, and under an obligation to him. For, when he perceived, after the defeat and slaughter of so many of their

armies, that the forces of the Roman empire were shattered and weakened by their civil wars; and that the emperors were not made by the senate and people, but by military election and favour; considering also, that he had conquered Britain (which none ever did before him) and thereby had got great fame by his military exploits, and had an army, for the number of it, strong enough; in this posture of affairs, he determined, if fortune offered him an opportunity to seize on the empire, not to be wanting to so glorious an occasion. Prompted by this hope, he treated his soldiers with great affability, and bestowed on them many gifts; he took advice in all his important affairs, of the noblest of the Britons, he recruited his army with Pict soldiers, and committed several garrisons, in divers places, to be kept by them. The lands of the Scots he divided betwixt them and the Britons. To the Picts he left their ancient possessions free; only he exacted a small tribute from the remotest corner of the Scottish kingdom, which he had given to them as a testimony (for so he gave it out himself) that all Britain was partly overcome, and partly settled on conditions of peace by him. And by these artifices, he strangely won the affections of the common soldiers; so that all things being in readiness, according to his conceived hope, he assumed the imperial dignity, as if he had been compelled so to do by his soldiers. After him, Constantine was chosen general by the Britons, being recommended only upon the account of his name, for otherwise, he was but a common soldier at first. He being also slain, Gratian, a person descended of British blood, ruled over the island. But Maximus being killed in Italy, and Gratian in Britain, Victorinus was sent from Rome to rule Britain, as lieutenant. He pretending to enlarge the empire, during his administration, commanded the Picts, who were reduced into the form of a province, to use the Roman laws, denouncing a great penalty to those who should dare to do otherwise: and whereas Hergustus their king died whilst these things were in agitation; he forbade them to chuse another king, or set up any other magistrate, but what was sent them from Rome. This the Picts looked upon as a mere slavery. Whereupon they begun, though too late, and to no purpose, to resent it, and complain they had been basely and unworthily betrayed by a nation allied to them, and in amity with them; and though sometimes they were at odds, yet they were partakers with them of all hazards against a foreign enemy; so that now they suffered according to their demerits, who had deprived themselves not only of all aids, but of all mercy and pity also. For now who would be sorry for their calamity, who called to mind to what miseries and necessities they had reduced their ancient friends? And that the oracle was applicable here, which foretold, "That the Picts in time should be extirpated by the Scots." So that now they were punished for betraying the Scots; nay, their own punishment was the greater of the two, in regard banishment is more tolerable than servitude. For banished men are free, let their for-

tune be what it wilt; but they themselves were loaded with the bitterest of all evils, which were so much more intolerable, because they fell into them by their own demerit. But that they might have one to resort to, and procure a public consultation for the remedying of these calamities, they create Durstus, the son of Her-gustus, king. The nobles being assembled about him to provide a remedy for their miseries, their complaints expressed the severity of their bondage. They alleged that they were now not in an imaginary, but a real slavery; that they were shut up within the wall of Severus, as wild beasts, separated from all human commerce; and that all their soldiery, under the splendid name of war, were indeed drawn out for the shambles. That, besides the hatred of their neighbouring nations, they were bitterly reproached by the monks too, who cried out, that God justly despised and rejected their prayers, who had so cruelly persecuted his ministers, though they were their brethren, and of the same religion with themselves, in that they would not suffer them, by whom God might have been appeased or supplicated to live in the same country with them. These things did grievously pinch their consciences; so that, adversity infusing some sparks of religion into their minds, and also some ease from their miseries being obtained, they at last pitched upon this as the only way to recover their liberty: that after they had reconciled themselves to the Scots, they would also endeavour to appease the wrath of God, who was an enemy to them for their perfidiousness. In pursuance of this good resolution, understanding that young Fergusius, of the blood royal, was in exile in Scandia: they thought, if he were recalled, that the rest also might be induced by his authority to return. To effect which, they sent an embassy to him, but secretly, for fear of the Romans, to sound his inclination as to his return into his own country.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S C O T L A N D.

BOOK V.

AFTER Eugenius was slain by the Romans, as hath been related before, and all the Scots banished from their country, the king's brother, whether Echadius, or Ethodius, is uncertain, for fear of the treachery of the Picts, and also diffident of his own affairs, hired slipping, and committed himself to the winds, and to fortune; and so sailed into Scandia, together with his son Erthus, and his nephew Fergusius. As soon as he arrived there, and came to court, the king of the country being informed who he was, from whence he came, and what adverse fortune he had met withal; his language, and also his habit and mien soon procuring credit to his allegation, he was admitted into near familiarity with him. Fergusius living there till he grew up to be a man, (his father and grandfather being dead,) he addicted himself wholly to military studies; at which time many expeditions were made by the united forces of the North against the Roman empire. Some of the forces fell upon Hungary, some upon Gallia; and Fergusius, both out of his love to arms, and his hatred to the Romans, followed the Franks in their war against the Gauls: but that expedition proved not very prosperous, so that he returned into Scandia with greater glory than success: and when his name began to be famous, not only there, but also amongst the neighbouring nations, his renown reaching to the Scots and Picts, the Scots were in mighty hopes of recovering their own country again, and the Picts in full expectation of obtaining their ancient liberty; if, laying aside their old grudges, they should chuse him general, and try their fortune against the Romans. And, indeed, at that time the affairs of the Romans were brought to so low an ebb, by reason of the successes of the neighbouring nations against them, that their condition was bait enough to excite old enemies to revenge the former injuries they had received from them. For their emperors, besides their being weakened by civil wars, were so vexed on every side by the Gauls, Vandals, Franks, and Africans, who did severally make inroads upon them,

each from his own coast, that, omitting the care of foreign affairs, they called back their armies into Italy to defend Rome itself, the seat of their empire. In the midst of these commotions, they who commanded the British legions, esteeming the Roman affairs as desperate, studied each their own advantages, and severally to establish their distinct tyrannies. Neither were they content to vex the islanders with all kind of cruelty and avarice, but they also harassed one another by mutual incursions. Thus the number of the legionary soldiers daily decreased, and the hatred of the provincials against them increased; so that all Britain would have certainly rebelled, if their power had been but equal to their will. But that, above all their other miseries, was most prejudicial to the Britons, which the emperor Constantine, the last general of the Roman army there, caused them to endure; for, when he was made emperor, he withdrew not only the Roman army, but even the British soldiers too; and so left the whole island disarmed and exposed to all violence, if they had had any foreign enemy to invade them. This was the chief occasion which mightily hastened the combination of the Scots. When affairs stood in this posture, secret messengers were dispatched between the Scots and the Picts, and they struck up a peace immediately. Then they both sent ambassadors to call home Fergusius, to take upon him the kingly government, as descending to him from his ancestors. Fergusius being a military man, desirous of honour, and besides, not so well pleased with his present state of life, but encouraged with the hopes of a better, easily accepted the terms. When his return was noised abroad, many of the exiled Scots, nay, several of the Danes too, his acquaintance and fellow-soldiers, being animated with the same hopes, accompanied him home; they all landed in Argyle. Thither all those exiles who were in Ireland, and the circumjacent islands, having had notice given them beforehand of his coming, resorted speedily to him; and they also drew along with them a considerable number of their clans and relations, and several young soldiers too, who were desirous of innovation.

FERGUSIUS II. *the fortieth king.*

FERGUSIUS having got these forces together, was created the fortieth king of Scotland, being inaugurated according to the manner of the country. The black book of Paisley casts his return on the sixth year of Honorius and Arcadius, emperors; others upon the eighth of their reign, that is, according to the account of Marianus Scotus, 403, according to Funccius, 404 years after the incarnation of Christ, and about 27 years after the death of his grandfather Eugenius. They who contend out of Bede, that this was the first coming of the Scots into Britain, may be convinced of a manifest untruth by his very history. When the assembly of the estates was dissolved, Fergusius being born and bred to feats of war and arms, judging it convenient to make use of the favourableness

of fortune, and the forwardness of his men; and withal designing to prevent the report of his coming, demolished all the neighbouring garrisons, having not soldiers enough to keep them; and having recovered his own kingdom, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he prepared for an expedition against his enemy. In the mean time the Britons were divided into two factions; some of them desirous of liberty, and weary of a foreign yoke, were glad of their arrival; others preferred their present settlement, tho' attended with so many and great inconveniencies, before an uncertain liberty, and a certain war. And therefore, out of fear of the danger hanging over their heads; and withal, being conscious of their own weakness, they agreed upon a double embassy, one to the Picts, another to the Romans: that to the Picts was to advise them not to desert their old allies the Romans and Britons, nor to take part with their ancient enemies; who were a company of poor, hopeless, and despicable creatures. They farther sent them admonitions, promises, and, in case of non-compliance, grievous threatenings from the Romans, whom with their whole united forces they could never withstand; much less could they now cope with them, since one of them was exhausted by draughts and detachments of soldiers, and the other worn out with all manner of miseries.

The minutes of their instructions to their ambassadors at Rome, were these, that they should furnish them with aids in time, whilst there was any thing left to defend against the rage of a cruel enemy; which if they would do, then Britain would still remain firm under their obedience; if not, it were better for them to leave their country, than to endure a servitude worse than death, under savage nations. Accordingly the Romans, though pressed close by wars on every side, yet sent one legion out of Gaul to defend their province, but with a command to return as soon as they had settled matters. The Britons having received those auxiliaries, did suddenly assault the plundering troops of their enemies, who were carelessly straggling up and down, and repulsed them with great slaughter.

The confederate kings having a well disciplined and regular army, came to the wall of Severus, and meeting their enemies by the river Carron, a bloody battle was fought between them. Great slaughter was made on both sides, but the victory fell to the Romans; who being in a little time to return into Gallia, were content only to have driven back their enemies, and to repair the wall of Severus, which in many places was demolished: when they had done this, and had garrisoned it with Britons, they departed. The confederate kings, though they were superior to their enemies, in making swift marches, and enduring of hardships; yet, being inferior in number and force, resolved not to fight any more pitched battles, but rather to weary their enemies, by frequent inroads, and not to put all to a venture in one fight, since they had not as yet sufficient forces for such a general engagement. But when they

heard that the Romans were returned out of Britain, they altered their resolutions, and gathering all their troops together, they demolished the wall of Severus, which was slightly repaired, only by the hands of soldiers, and but negligently guarded by the Britons. Having got by this means a larger space to forage in, they made the country beyond the wall (which they were not able to keep, for want of men) useless to the Britons, for many miles. It is reported that one Graham was the principal man in demolishing that fortification; who, transporting his soldiers in ships, landed beyond the wall, and slew the guards upon a surprize, and so made a passage for his men. It is not certain among writers, whether this Graham was a Scot or Briton; but most think that he was a Briton, descended of the Fulgentian line, a prime and noble family in that nation; as also that he was the father-in-law of king Fergusius: I am most inclined to be of this last opinion. The wall then being thus razed, the Scots and Picts committed most inhuman cruelties and outrages upon the Britons, without distinction of age or sex: for (as matters then stood) the Britons were weak, and unaccustomed to war; so that they sent a lamentable embassy to Rome, complaining of the unspeakable calamities they endured, and with great humility and earnestness supplicating for aid; farther alleging, that if they were not moved at the destruction of the Britons, and the loss of a province, (lately so splendid), yet it became the Romans to maintain their own dignity, lest their names should grow contemptible amongst those barbarous nations. Accordingly another legion was again sent for their relief, who coming (as Bede says) in autumn, a season of the year when they were unexpected, made great slaughter of their enemies. The confederate kings gathered what force they could together, to beat them back; and, being encouraged by their success in former times, and also by the friendship and alliance of Dionethus, a Briton, they made approaches toward the enemy. This Dionethus was well descended in his own country, but always an adviser of his countrymen to shake off the Roman yoke; and then especially, when so fair an opportunity was offered, and the whole strength of the empire was engaged in other wars, which made him suspected by his own men as an affecter of novelty, was hated by the Romans, but a friend to the Scots and Picts; who understanding that the design of the Romans was first to destroy Dionethus, as an enemy near at hand, and in their very bowels, to obviate their purpose, they made great marches towards them, and joining their forces with those of Dionethus, began a sharp encounter with the Romans; who, surrounded by numbers, both in front and rear, were put to flight. When the ranks of the legionary soldiers were thus broken, and gave ground, the confederate kings being too eager in the pursuit, fell amongst the reserve of the Romans, who stood in good order, and were repulsed by them with great slaughter: so that if the Romans, conscious of the weakness of their numbers, had not forborne

any farther pursuit, their enemies had doubtless received a mighty overthrow that day; but because the loss of some soldiers in but a small army was too sensibly felt, therefore they rejoiced the less on account of the victory.

Maximianus (so our writers call him, who commanded the Roman legion) being dismayed at this check, retired into the midst of his province, and the kings returned each to his own dominion. Then it was that Dionethus took the supreme authority upon him, he clothed himself in purple after the manner of the Romans, and carried himself as king of the Britons. When the Romans understood that their enemies were dispersed, they gathered what force they could together, and increased them with British auxiliaries, and so marched against Dionethus, who infested the provinces adjoining to him; for they thought to subdue him, from whom their danger was nearest, before his allies could come to his relief: but the three kings united their forces sooner than the Romans imagined, and joining all their forces together, they encouraged their soldiers as well as they could, and without delay drew out their armies in a line of battle. The Roman general placed the Britons in the front, and the Romans in the reserves: it was a very sharp fight, and the front giving ground, Maximianus brought on his legion, and stopt the Britons just ready to run; and then sending about some troops to fall on the rear, some brigades of Scots, being encompassed by them, drew themselves into a circle, where they bravely defended themselves till the greatest part of their enemy's army falling upon them, they were every man slain; yet their loss gave opportunity to the rest to escape. There fell in that fight Fergus king of the Scots, and Durstus king of the Picts; Dionethus being wounded, was with great difficulty carried off to the sea, and in a skiff returned home. This victory struck such a terror into all the conquered, that it refreshed the memory of ancient times, insomuch that many consulted whither to betake themselves for their place of exile. Fergusius died when he had reigned sixteen years, a man of an heroic spirit, and who may deservedly be called the second founder of the Scottish kingdom; nay, (perhaps) he may be said to exceed the former Fergusius in this, that he came into a country almost naked and empty, by the concession of the Picts; neither had he the unconquered forces of the Romans to deal with, but the Britons; who, though somewhat (but not much) superior to the Scots in accoutrements and provisions for war, were, however, far inferior to them in enduring the hardships of the field. But this latter Fergusius, when almost all the Scots were slain who were able to bear arms, being brought up in a foreign country, and after the twenty-seventh year of his banishment from his own, being sent for as an unknown king, by those subjects who were as unknown to him, marched with a mixed army, collected out of several nations, against the Britons, who were at that time assisted by the forces of the Romans; so that if the divine provi-

dence had not manifestly favoured his designs, he might seem to have undertaken a very desperate attempt, and bordering upon madness itself. He left three sons behind him, very young children, Eugenius, Dongardus, and Constantius; Graham, their grandfather by the mother's side, was by universal consent appointed guardian over them, and in the mean time, till they came to be of age, he was to manage the government as regent. He was a person of that virtuous temper, that even in the most turbulent times, and amidst a most fierce nation, who were not always obedient, no not to kings of their own nation, yet there happened no civil dissensions at home in his time, though he himself was a foreigner.

EUGENIUS, *or* EVENUS II. *the forty-first king.*

EUGENIUS, *or* EVENUS II. the eldest son of Fergusius, had the name of king, but the power was in the hands of Graham; he caused a muster to be made of the soldiers all over the land; and when he found that his militia was weakened by former fights, beyond what he thought, he saw that nothing then was to be done, and so ceased from making any levies. But the Roman legion having relieved their allies, and, as they were commanded, being about to return into the continent, spoiled all their enemies country within the wall of Severus, and slew the inhabitants; it is true, they restored the lands to the Britons, but they kept the plunder and booty for themselves. So that the remaining Scots and Picts; who survived their late loss, were again shut up between the two friths of the sea. Matters being brought to this pass, the Romans declared to the Britons, with how great and strong armies they were beset, who had conspired to destroy the Roman name and empire; so that they were not able to take so much pains, nor to be at so great expence to maintain places so far off; and therefore they advised the Britons not to expect any more aids from them for the future. But they advised them rather to take up arms themselves, and to inure themselves to undergo military pains and hazards; and, if they had offended before, through slothfulness, to begin and make amends now by industry and hardiness, and not permit themselves to grow so contemptible to their enemies, (to whom they were superior in number and forces), as to suffer them to drive away yearly booties from their country, as if they had only gone abroad like a pack of hunters for their prey. And the Romans themselves, that they might do them a lasting good that might be of great service to them in future times, did undertake a great and memorable work for them. For they gathered together a huge company of workmen out of their whole province, (the Romans and Britons both vying who should be forwardest), and just in that place where the trench or graft was drawn by Severus, thirty miles long, there they built a wall of stone eight feet broad, and twelve high; they distinguished it by castles, some of which represented small towns. It was finished and bounded on the west by a place now called Kilpa-

trick, and on the east it began from the monastery of Aberkernie, as Bede affirms; in which country, about one hundred and twenty years since, there was a strong castle of the Douglasses, called Abercorn, but no sign of any monastery at all. Moreover, lest their enemies should make a descent by ships into places beyond the wall, as, in their memory, they had formerly done, they set up many beacons, or watch towers, on the higher grounds along the shore, from whence there was a large prospect into the sea; and, where it was convenient, they appointed garrisons, but consisting of such cowardly and effeminate fellows, that they could not endure so much as to see the face of an armed enemy. The Roman legion did this beneficial and obliging work for their provincials before their departure. Withal, vehemently exhorting them to defend their own country with their own arms: for they must never more hope for assistance from the Romans, whose affairs were now brought to that exigence, that they could no longer help their allies, especially those that were so far remote.

When the Scots and Picts understood for certain, by their spies, that the Romans were departed, and would return no more, they assaulted the wall with all their might, and much more eagerly than before; and did not only cast down their opposers by hurling darts at them, but also pulled them down headlong from the top of the wall with cramp-irons, as Bede calls them; which were, as I understand, crooked iron instruments, or hooks, fastened on the tops of long poles; so that the upper fortification being thus made destitute of its defenders, they applied their engines, and destroyed the foundations too; and thus an entrance and passage being made, they enforced their affrighted enemies to leave their habitations and dwellings, and to fly away for safety wherever they could find it. For the Scots and Picts were so eagerly bent on revenge, that their enemies had good reason to think all their former calamities tolerable in respect to those they were now forced to endure. Afterwards, the assailants, rather wearied than satisfied with the miseries of their enemies, returned home, and began, at last, to bethink themselves, that they had not so much taken away the goods of their enemies, as they had wasted and spoiled what would have been the rewards of their victory. They convened an assembly of the estates, where it was debated amongst them, how so great a victory might be improved; and their first resolution was, to fill those lands which they had taken from the enemy with fresh colonies, for the procreation of a new progeny. This counsel seemed the more wholesome and advisable, because of the abundance of valiant, but indigent officers and soldiers, who had not room enough to live in their old habitations. This turn of prosperity being signified to the neighbouring nations, encouraged not only the Scottish exiles, but a great company of strangers too, who lived but poorly at home, to flock in, as to a prey; for they supposed, that a man of that spirit and conduct, as Graham was, would never lay down arms till he had brought the

whole island of Britain under his subjection; but there they were mistaken; for he having run so many hazards, was more inclinable to peace, with honour and glory, than to risk his present certain felicity, by throwing himself into uncertain dangers. And therefore he made peace with the Britons, who were not only willing to, but also very earnestly desirous of the same. The terms were, that each people should be contented with their own bounds, and abstain from wrong and violence towards one another; Adrian's wall was the barrier. After this peace was made, Graham divided the lands not only among the Scots, but also among those outlandish men who had followed his ensigns. By this means, almost all the provinces were called by new names, because the persons that peopled them were men, for the most part, born in banishment abroad, and the rest perfect foreigners. Galloway, a country next to Ireland, falling by lot to the Irish, is thought to have got its name, so famed in their own country, from them. Caithness was so called, because it was mountainous. Ross, because it was a peninsula. Buchan, because it paid great tribute out of oxen. Strathboggy, Nairn, Strathnavern, Lochspey, Strathearn, and Monteith, took their respective names from several rivers of the same appellation. Lochaber was so called from a loch, or rather bay of the sea. Many of the provinces situate on this side the Forth, as Lennox, Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Teviotdale, Liddisdale, Eskdale, Eusdale, Nithsdale, Annandale, and Douglasdale, had their surnames from rivers. Many places retained their ancient names, and some had theirs only a little changed. Afterwards, to the end that he might, by just laws, bridle licentiousness, which was grown to a great height by the long continuance of wars; he first recalled the monks and teachers of the Christian religion out of banishment to their own homes; and, lest they might be burdensome to an indigent people, he ordained, that they should have an yearly income out of the fruits of the earth; which, though it was small, (as those times were,) was however deemed a handsome competency; such was the modesty and temperance of the men. He placed garrisons in the most convenient passages, to prevent all sudden incursions of the enemy; he repaired places that were demolished, and erected new ones. The fury of war being thus extinguished through the whole island, though the Britons being saved, as it were, out of a dangerous tempest, did enjoy the sweets of public peace; yet it was doubtful whether war or peace did them most mischief. For when their cities were razed, their villages burnt, their cattle driven away, and all their instruments of husbandry lost; they who survived this cruelty of their enemies, were forced to keep themselves from starving by hunting; or else to turn their course of plunder from their enemies upon their own countrymen: so that a war at home was almost like to be the consequence of their having made peace abroad. Neither were they the only perpetual enemies of foreigners; for tho' they abstained from open wars, yet every now and then they spoiled

the countries contiguous to them; particularly a party of the Irish, encouraged with the hopes of booty, vexed the poor people, who were already miserably enough distressed with their invasions by sea. Their last calamity, and the worst of all, was a famine; which did so break the spirit of that fierce people, that many of them voluntarily surrendered themselves into their enemies hands. At last, those few of them that remained, lurking in caves and dens, were necessitated to come abroad, and to scatter the wandering troops of the plunderers; they also drove the Irish back to sea, and forced them to depart from Albium. That mischief was no sooner removed, but a calamity nearer hand began to press upon them. The Scots and Picts, their eternal enemies, were not contented to drive preys from them by stealth, but watching an opportunity to attempt higher matters. For Eugenius, the son of Fergus, who till that time had lain still under the tutorage of another: his strength being increased by a long peace, and much augmented by a young list of soldiers flocking in to him, desired to shew himself; and besides the weakness of the Britons, there happened likewise a private cause of war: Graham, being his grandfather by the mother's side, and nobly descended (as I said before) in his own country, was of that faction which were desirous to free themselves from Roman slavery. This was the cause he was banished by the contrary faction, who were then more powerful, and so he fled to the Scots, his old allies, between whom many civilities had formerly passed. After his death, Eugenius, by his ambassadors, demanded a restitution of those fruitful lands which were his ancestor's, situate within the wall of Adrian; intimating plainly to them, that, unless they did restore them, he would make war upon them. When the ambassadors had declared their message in an assembly of the Britons, there were such heats amongst them, that they came almost to blows. They who were the fiercest of them cried out, that the Scots did not seek for lands so much (of which they had enough) as for war; and that they did not only insult over their calamities, but also were resolved to try their patience; if the lands were denied, then a war would presently follow; if they were restored, then a cruel enemy was to be received into their own bowels; and yet they should not have peace even then, unless they imagined that their covetousness would be satisfied with the concession of a few lands, who were not contented with large provinces, which were parted with in the last war. And that, therefore, it was good to obviate their immoderate and unsatiable desires in the very beginning, and to repress their licentiousness by arms, lest, by the grant of small things, their desires might be enlarged, and their boldness increased to ask more. There was in that assembly one Conanus, a British nobleman, and eminent amongst his countrymen on the account of his prudence, who discoursed many things gravely concerning the cruelty of their enemies, and of the present state of the Britons, and that almost all their young soldiers were drawn out

for foreign service; adding withal, that war abroad, seditions at home, and hunger occasioned by want, would consume, at least weaken, the miserable remainders of his countrymen: as for the Roman legions, they were gone home to quell their own civil wars, without any hopes of return; and therefore he gave his advice, that they should make peace with their formidable enemies, if not an advantageous one, yet the best they could procure. This counsel he gave, as he alleged, not out of any respect to his own private interest, but merely for the necessities of the public; which appears, said he, by this, that as long as there was any probability to defend ourselves against the cruelty of our enemies, he never made any mention of peace at all; he added, that he was not ignorant, that this peace, which he now persuaded them to, would not be a lasting one, but only prove a small respite from war, till the force of the Britons, weakened by so many losses, and almost ruined, might be refreshed, and gather strength by a little intermission. Whilst he was thus speaking, a great clamour run through the whole assembly, which put him into some consternation; for the seditious cried out, that he did not respect the public good, but only endeavoured to obtain the kingdom for himself, by means of foreign aid. Upon that he departed from the council, and called God to witness, that he had no private end of his own in persuading them to a peace; but a tumult arising among the multitude, he was there slain. His unhappy lot made the wiser sort refrain from speaking their mind, and giving their votes freely, though they evidently saw that the destruction of their country was at hand. The ambassadors returning home without their errand, the Scots and Picts left off all other business, and prepared wholly for war; the Britons foreseeing the same after their fit of passion was somewhat over, send ambassadors to Scotland; who, upon pretence of making peace, were to put some stop to the war, and to offer them money; giving the Scots hopes that they might get more from them, by way of an amicable treaty, than they pretended to seek for by war; that the chances of war were doubtful, and the issue uncertain; that it was not the part of wise men to neglect the benefit which was in their view; and, upon uncertain hopes, to run themselves into most certain and assured dangers. Nothing was obtained by this embassy, for Eugenius was informed by his spies, that the Britons did but dissemble the obtaining of a peace abroad, whilst they were highly intent upon making warlike preparations at home: the Scots and Picts being inflamed, for that very reason, with their old hatred, and invited by the calamities of the Britons, or else, lifted up with success, would give them no conditions, but to yield up their all; so that both armies prepared for the last encounter. The confederate kings having been conquerors for some years, grew high in their expectations, and hoped for a greater victory; and the Britons, on the other side, set before their eyes all the miseries that a fierce and conquering enemy could inflict upon them. In this posture of

affairs, and temper of spirit, when both parties came in sight of one another, such a sharp fight commenced between them, as the inhabitants of Britain had never seen before. It was so obstinately maintained, that, after very long and hot fighting, the right wing of the Scots was, though with difficulty, forced to give ground; which Eugenius perceiving, having before brought all his other reserves into action, he at last commanded the very squadrons, left to guard the baggage, into the fight: they being entire and fresh men, routed the Britons which stood against them; so that the victory began on that side, from whence the fear of a total overthrow proceeded. The rest of the Britons following the fortune of the other brigade, ran away too, and flying into the woods and marshes near the place where the battle was fought; as they were thus straggling, dispersed, and unarmed, their enemies baggage-men and attendants slew abundance of them. There fell of the Britons in this fight 14,000, of their enemies 4,000. After this fight, the Britons having lost almost all their infantry, send ambassadors to the Scots and Picts, commissioning them to refuse no conditions of peace whatsoever: the confederate kings seeing they had all in their power, were somewhat inclined to mercy, and therefore terms of peace were offered, which were very hard indeed, but not the severest which (in such their afflicted state) they might have propounded: the conditions were, "That the Britons should not send for any Roman, or other
" foreign army, to assist them; that they should not admit them,
" if they came of their own accord, nor give them liberty to march
" through their country; that the friends and the enemies of the
" Scots and Picts should be theirs in the same manner; and that,
" without their permission, they should not make peace or war,
" nor send aid to any who desired it; that the limits of their king-
" dom should be the river Humber; that they should also make
" present payment of a certain sum of money by way of fine, to be
" divided amongst the soldiers, which also was to be paid yearly by
" them; that they should give a hundred hostages, such as the
" confederate kings should approve of."

These conditions of peace were taken by some of the Britons with a very ill will, and it was out of mere necessity they were all obliged to accept them: the same necessity which procured it, made them keep the peace for some years: the Britons being left weak, and quite forsaken by the foreigners, that they might have a head to resort to, for public advice, made Constantine, their countryman, a nobleman of high descent, and of great repute, (whom they sent for out of Gallic Britanny), their king. He perceiving that the forces of the Britons were broken, both abroad by wars, and at home by feuds, robberies and discords, thought fit to attempt nothing by arms; but, during the ten years he reigned, he maintained peace with his neighbours; till at last he was massacred by the treachery of Vortigern, a potent and ambitious man: he left three sons behind him, of which two were under age; the

third and eldest as unfit for government, was spirited into a monastery, and there confined: however he got to be created king by the assistance of Vortigern, who sought to obtain wealth and power to himself, under the envy of another man's name. Peace affording large opportunities of cultivating and tilling lands, after a most grievous famine, such a plentiful crop of grain was produced, that the like was never before heard of in Britain. From hence arose those vices which usually accompany peace; as luxury, cruelty, whoredom, drunkenness, which are far more pernicious than all the mischiefs of war. Truth and sincerity were so far from being any where to be found, that equity, performance of promises, and constant good discipline, were not only subjects of scorn and laughter among the rabble, but among the monks, and those who professed a religious life; of which Bede the Anglo-Saxon, and Gildas the Briton, do make a heavy complaint. In the mean time the ambassadors, who returned from Ætius, brought word, that no relief could be expected from him: for the Britons had sent letters to Ætius, some clauses of which I shall here recite as they are delivered by Bede; both because they are a succinct history of the miseries of that nation, and also because they demonstrate how much many writers are mistaken in their chronology. The words are these, "To Ætius, the third time consul, the complaints of the Britons." And a little after, "The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea beats us back again upon the barbarians; we have no choice but one of these two kinds of deaths, either to be killed or drowned." Now, Ætius in his third consulship had Symmachus for his colleague; in the 446th year after Christ. Neither could there any aid be obtained from him, who was then principally intent upon observing the motions of Attila: the rest of the Britons being driven to this desperate point, Vortigern alone was glad of the public calamity; and in such a general confusion he thought he might, with greater impunity, perpetrate that wickedness which he had long before designed in his mind; which was, to cause the king to be slain by those guards whom he had appointed to be placed about his person; and afterwards, to avert the suspicion of so foul a parricide from himself, in a pretended fit of anger, as if he were impatient of delay in executing revenge, he caused the guards also to be put to death, without suffering them to plead for themselves. Thus having obtained the kingdom by the highest degree of villany, he maintained it in no better a manner than he usurped it. For, suspecting the faith of the people towards him, and not confiding in his own strength, which was but small, he engaged the Saxons to take his part, who were then turned pirates at sea, and infested all the shores far and near. He procured their captain Hengist, with a strong band of soldiers, to come to him with three galleys, and he assigned over lands to him in Britain; so that now Hengist was to fight, not as for a strange country, but as for his own demesne and estate, and therefore was likely to do it with the more good will.

When this was noised abroad, such large numbers of three nations, the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles are reported to have flocked out of Germany into Britain, that they became formidable even to the inhabitants of the island. First of all, about the year of our Lord 449, Vortigern being strengthened by those auxiliaries, joined battle with the Scots and Picts, whom he conquered, and drove beyond Adrian's wall. As for what relates to Eugenius, the king of the Scots, there goes double report of him; some say he was slain in fight beyond the river Humber; others, that he died a natural death. However he came by his end, this is certain, he governed the Scots with such equity, that he may deservedly be reckoned amongst the best of their kings. For though he spent the first part of his life, almost from his childhood, in war, yet he made such a proficiency under the discipline of his grandfather, from whom he learnt such an evenness of mind and temper, that neither the licence of camps (as it usually doth) could draw him to vice; nor make him more negligent in conforming his manners to the strict rules of piety; nor could his prosperous success make him more arrogant. And on the other side, the peace and calm he enjoyed, abated not at all the sharpness of his understanding, nor did it break his martial spirit; but he led his life with such an equality of behaviour, that merely by the advantage of his natural disposition, he equalled, or rather exceeded, those princes who are instructed in the liberal arts, and from thence come to the helm of government.

DONGARDUS, *the forty-second king.*

THE same year that Eugenius died, which was in the 452d year of our Lord, his brother, Dongardus, succeeded him in the throne. He was of a disposition like his brother; for, as he was willing to embrace peace upon good conditions; so, when occasion required, he was not afraid of war. And therefore, in reference both to peace and war, he not only prepared all things necessary to resist the invasion of an enemy, but he likewise trained up the youth and soldiery of his country to pains and parsimony; that so they might be restrained from vice, and their minds not grow feeble and languid by long quiet, and too much prosperity. But the seditions at home, raised by the Britons, were the cause that his arms were not much famed abroad. But being freed from that encumbrance, he gave himself wholly up to the reformation of religion; for the relics of the Pelagian heresy did as yet trouble the churches. To confute them, Pope Celestine sent Palladius over, (in the life of his father Eugenius), who instructed many, that grew afterwards famous for learning and sanctity of life; and especially Patricius, Servanus, Ninianus, Kentigernus. The same Palladius is reported to have first of all appointed bishops in Scotland. Whereas till then the churches were governed only by monks, without bishops, with less pomp and external ceremony, but with greater integrity and sanctity of life. The Scots being thus intent about purging and

settling religion and divine worship, escaped free from that tempest of war which shattered almost all the world. In the second year of the reign of Eugenius, Vortigern was deposed, and his son, Vortimer, chosen king of the Britons. He renewed the ancient league with the Scots and Picts, that so he might more easily break the power of the Saxons, which was a triple alliance that the three nations had entered into against the Romans in the days of Carausius. Dongardus did not long survive this league, for he died after he had reigned five years.

CONSTANTINE I. *the forty-third king.*

CONSTANTINUS, his youngest brother, succeeded him in the government; who in his private condition, lived temperately enough, but as soon as he mounted the throne, he gave a loose to debauchery. He was covetous, and cruel to the nobility, but familiar with men of an inferior rank. He gave himself wholly up to the debauching both of virgins and matrons, and to riotous feasts; having always musicians and stage-players about him, and all other parasites that would administer to his lusts and pleasures. The Scots nobility, being offended at these miscarriages, came often to him, to put him in mind of his duty. He received their admonitions very haughtily, bidding them to look after their own affairs; and saying, that he had sufficient advice from others; he told them too, that they were much mistaken if they thought to prescribe to their king, on pretence of advising him. And as he was thus arrogant towards his subjects, so he was abject and submissive to his enemies. For he granted them peace at first asking, and forgave them the injuries they had committed; nay, he demolished some castles, and delivered up others to them. This carriage of his did so far incense the Scots and Picts, that the Scots were ready to rebel; and the Picts, who before had dealt underhand with the Saxons, set up for themselves, and at last made a public league with them. But amongst the Scots there was one Dugald of Galloway, of great authority amongst the commons. He, for the present, restrained the multitude by an insinuating oration, in which he acknowledged, that many of those things which they complained of were true, and that what they desired was just. But yet if a war should happen to break out, as an addition to their other miseries, the kingdom would be endangered, nay, hardly to be saved from destruction; especially for that the Picts were alienated from them; the Britons, since Vortimer's death, but their uncertain friends; and the Saxons (who were very strong and potent, and who managed their victories with great cruelties, and in whose commerce there was no faith to be reposed) were always intent upon the destruction of all their neighbours.

The people being thus appeased by the wisdom and prudence of some of their grave elders, the king continued to reign, though with the hatred and contempt of all; but was at length smote by a no-

bleman of the Æbudæ, for ravishing his daughter, in the fifteenth year of his reign. This is the common report concerning his death; but I rather incline to the opinion of Johannes Fordonus, who says in his Scoti-chronicon, that he reigned twenty-two years, and at last died of a lingering distemper. In his reign, Aurelius Ambrosius came into this Britain, out of the Less Britanny beyond sea; he was the son of Constantine, who held the kingdoms some years before; but he being treacherously slain, and his brother, who reigned after his father, being also massacred by Vortigern, through the like treachery, the two other remaining sons of Constantine were conveyed by their father's friends into French Bretagne. I think this original of Aurelius Ambrosius is truer than that which others deliver, (among whom is Bede,) for they say, that he was the last of the Roman stock who reigned in Britain: these two brothers, when Vortimer was murdered by the fraud of his stepmother, and Vortigern had made himself king without authority or power, being now grown up and fit to govern, returned, with the great favour and expectation of all men, into the island, to recover their father's kingdom; and withal, they brought no inconsiderable number of Britons out of Gaul along with them. After their arrival, before they would alarm the strangers, they subdued Vortigern in Wales, and then sent messengers to the Scots and Picts, desiring their alliance, and craving the assistance of their arms against the Saxons, the most bitter enemies of the Christian name. Their embassy was kindly received by the Scots, and the league before made with Constantine, was again renewed, which from that day remained almost inviolate, till the kingdom of Britain was oppressed by the Angles, and the kingdom of the Picts by the Scots. But the Picts answered the British ambassadors, that they had already made a league with the Saxons, and that they saw no cause to break it; but they were resolved to run all hazards with them for the future, and to be partakers of their good or bad success. Thus the whole island was divided into two factions, the Scots and Britons waging continual war against the Picts and Saxons.

CONGALUS I. *the forty-fourth king.*

TO Constantine succeeded Congallus, the son of Dongardus, Constantine's brother; he was inclinable to arms, but durst not then attempt any thing, because the people were effeminated and weakened by lasciviousness and luxury, during the reign of his uncle. And though many, in compliance with his disposition, (as usually kings have many such parasites,) often persuaded him to take up arms, yet he would never be brought to hearken to it. First then, he applied himself to correct the public manners, neither did he attempt to reduce the ancient discipline, till he had created new magistrates; and by their means had cut off many suits and controversies, and restrained thefts and robberies. Peace being settled at home, he endeavoured to reclaim others to a more civil course of

life: first of all, by his own example, and secondly by gently chastising, or else contemning, those as infamous who took no copy from him, but persisted obstinately in their evil courses; and thus he quickly brought all things to their former condition. Seeing, as I said before, at the beginning of his reign he gave himself wholly up to the study of peace, the Britons began to persuade Aurelius Ambrosius to recover Westmoreland from the Scots, which they had possessed many years. Upon this, several embassies being sent to and fro betwixt them, the matter was like to be decided by the sword, if fear of the common enemy had not put an end to the dispute; so that the league made by Constantine was renewed, and no alteration made in reference to Westmoreland. Congallus had war with the Saxons all the time of his reign; but it was a slow and intermitting one, as parties met by chance when out upon plunder, and carrying off their several booties; in which kind of fighting, the Scots being nimble, light, and most horsemen, accounted themselves superior to their enemies, but they never came to a pitched battle: for Congallus was of opinion, that it was best to trust as few things as possible to the decision of fortune, and therefore he sent part of his forces to help Aurelius Ambrosius; and with the rest he wearied his enemy, and never suffered them to rest night or day. Merlin and Gildas lived in the days of these and the next kings: they were both Britons, and attained a great fame amongst posterity, who conceived a vast opinion of their prophecies and divinations. Merlin was a little the more ancient of the two, a cheat and impostor, rather than a prophet. His vaticinations are scattered up and down, but they are obscure, and contain no certainty at all to encourage any hopes before their fulfilling, or to satisfy men when they are fulfilled; so that there is no truth in them on either account. And besides, they are so framed, that you may accommodate or apply them to different or contrary events, as you will yourself. Yet, though they are daily furbished up, and also augmented by new additions, such is the folly of credulous men, that what they understand not, they are yet bold to affirm to be as true as gospel; and though they be taken in a notorious lie, yet they will not bear to be convinced of it.

Gildas was later than he, a learned and good man, and one who was held in great veneration both in his lifetime and after his death, because he was excellent in learning, and eminent for sanctity. The prophecies which go under his name are such ridiculous sentences, and so coarse and so ill-framed in the wording of them, and also in the whole series of their composure, that no wise man can esteem them to be his. Each prophet had a patron suitable to his own disposition. Merlin had Vortigern for his patron, and after him Uter, to whom he was a seer and pander in his lust. Gildas had Aurelius Ambrosius, a person no less admirable for the probity of his life, than for his victories in war; after whose death, Gildas retired into Glastenbury in Somersetshire, where he lived and died very devout.

ly. Our books of the life of Aurelius Ambrosius make mention of him: to which Aurelius Uter, the youngest of Constantine's three sons, succeeded in the year of our Lord 500. And the next year after, Congallus, king of Scotland, departed this life in the twenty-second year of his reign.

GORANUS, the forty-fifth king.

GORANUS, his brother, succeeded him; and, after his example, governed Scotland with great piety and justice, as far as foreign wars would permit him to do so; for he not only travelled all over the kingdom (as the good kings of old were wont to do) to punish offenders, but also to prevent the injuries which great men offered to the poor; who, in such cases, dared not to complain; and to curb their oppressive way of lording it over them, he appointed informers, who were to find out such miscarriages, write them down, and bring them to him: a remedy necessary, perhaps, for those times, but a very hazardous one in these our days. He was the chief means and occasion, that the Picts, deserting the Saxons, made a joint league with the Scots and Britons. At that time Lothus was king of the Picts, a person who excelled the princes of his time in all accomplishments, both of body and mind. Goranus dealt earnestly with him, to break his alliance with those barbarous nations; alleging, that he ought to remember his own country, in which they were all born, and especially their common religion. That he was much deceived if he imagined that the peace betwixt him and the Saxons would be faithfully kept, when once the Britons and Scots were overthrown; seeing he had to do with men of inhuman cruelty and insatiable avarice: that they had given sufficient proofs how little they esteemed leagues, or any other thing, when they wickedly slew the nobility of the Britons, who had so well deserved of them, upon pretence of calling them out to a conference: That the son-in-law was saved alive by the father-in-law, not for any alleviation of his calamity, but for upbraiding him as an enemy. He added, that the sacred tie of leagues, which amongst other nations are accounted the firmest bonds of union, was amongst them as a snare or bait, to catch the simple and unwary in. To what purpose was it to run so many hazards, to free themselves from the tyranny of the Romans, if they must, of their own accord, give themselves up to the much harder and baser servitude of the Saxons. This was not to make a change of their condition, but of their master only: nay, it was to prefer a blood-thirsty and barbarous one, before one that was mild and gentle. What a foolish and wild thing was it to take away lands from the Scots and Britons, and to deliver them to the Germans? and so to despoil those who were but lately their friends, and endeared to them by many ancient courtesies and respects, that they might enrich pirates, the common enemies of mankind, even to their own destruction. That it ought to be esteemed the most grievous thing of all, by one who was a true Christian, to consent to that league, whereby the Christian religion

must be extinguished, profane rites renewed, and wicked tyrants, the enemies of piety and humanity, armed with power against God and his law.

Lothus knew all this to be true, which he had spoken, and therefore he committed the whole affair to Goranus's management; he easily persuades Uter, not only to make an alliance, but to contract an affinity too with the Picts; giving him Anna, who was either his sister, or else his daughter, begotten in lawful wedlock, to wife: I am rather of their opinion, who think she was his sister, as judging that the mistake rose from hence; that Uter had another natural daughter, called Anna, by a concubine. After this league between these three kings, many victories were obtained over the Saxons, so that the name of Uter began to be great and formidable all over Britain. After all the commanders of the Saxons were slain, and the power of those that remained broken, and so things made almost hopeless and desperate among them, Uter might have been accounted one of the greatest kings of his age, had he not by one foul and impious fact, brought a cloud over all his other great virtues. There was one Gorlois, a noble Briton, of great valour and power, whose wife Igerne, a beautiful lady, Uter, while yet in a private condition, doted upon; but her chastity being a long time a guard against his lust, at last her continency was conquered by Merlin, a man audaciously wicked; and in this adulterous commerce he begat a son on her, named Arthur. Uter, his own lawful wife being dead, himself now freed from nuptial bonds, and made a king, and so (as he thought) free from law too, not being able to bear the absence of Igerne, out of love to her, attempted a very rash project. He framed an accusation against Gorlois, besieged his castle, took it, slew him, married Igerne, and owned Arthur for his own son, educating him nobly, in hopes of leaving him heir to the kingdom. And seeing his wife's infamy could not be concealed, that he might somewhat extenuate it, they forged a tale, not much unlike that which had been often acted in theatres, about Jupiter and Alcmena, viz. That Uter, by the art of Merlin, was changed into the shape of Gorlois, and so had his first night's lodging with Igerne; and indeed this Merlin was a man of that kidney, that he had rather be famous for a wicked deed, than none at all. Arthur, thus begot by a stolen copulation, as soon as he grew up, appeared so amiable in the lineaments of his body, and in the inclinations of his mind, that the eyes of his parents, and of all the people too, were fixed upon him, and gave many omens of his future greatness, so that after his father's death, all agreed upon him to be their king. And his father was so much pleased with this humour of the people, that he cherished it by all the arts he could; so that now it was the common opinion, that none but Arthur should be heir to the crown. Uter died when he had reigned seventeen years, and presently Arthur was set up in his stead; though Lothus, king of the Picts, did much oppose it, grievously complaining,

that his children (for he had two, begotten on Anna, Arthur's aunt, who were now of years) were deprived of their kingdom; and that a bastard, begotten in adultery, was preferred before them. On the other side, all the Britons stood for Arthur, and denied that he was to be accounted spurious, because Uter married his mother at last, though it were after his birth; and by that marriage had treated him as his legitimate son, and had always accounted him so to be: but although they pretended this colour of right, yet that which stood Arthur in most stead was his great ingenuity, and those specimens of his virtue which he often shewed; nay, there was a tacit impression (as it were) on the minds of all men, presaging his future greatness. So that all ran in thick and three-fold (as we say) to his party, insomuch that Lothus, being borne down not only by that pretence of right, (which, after that time, was always observed in Britain,) but by the affections of the people running another way, desisted from his enterprize in demanding the kingdom; which he did so much the rather do, because he was loth to trust his children, for whom that kingdom was desired, to the Britons, who had shewn themselves so averse to them. Besides, the intreaties of his friends prevailed with him, who all alleged, that no kingdom ought to be so dear to him, as to make him merely, for the sake of a throne, join in affinity with infidels, (to the overthrow of the Christian religion,) who would no more inviolably keep their league and alliance with him, than they had done before with the Britons. Moreover, the liberal and promising disposition of Arthur, and the greatness of his mind, even above his age, very much affected him. Insomuch that the league made by former kings, betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Britons, was again renewed, and upon that so great a familiarity ensued, that Lothus promised to send Galvinus, the youngest of his two sons, to the British court, as soon as he was old enough to bear the fatigue of the journey. Arthur entered upon the regal government before he was quite eighteen years old: but as his courage was above his age, so success was not wanting to his daring spirit; for whereas his father had divided the kingdom by certain boundaries, with the Saxons, and had made peace with them on conditions; the fair opportunity offered them, by reason of the youthful age of the king, more prevailed with them to break the peace, than the sanctity of the league could prevail with them to observe it. Arthur, that he might quench the fire in the beginning, gathered an army together sooner than any man could imagine, and, being assisted with auxiliaries from the Scots and Picts, he overthrew the enemy in two great battles, compelling them to pay tribute, and to receive laws from him. With the same eagerness and speed he took London, the metropolis of the Saxons' kingdom; and, having settled things there, he marched his army directly towards York, but the report of auxiliary forces coming out of Germany, and the approach of winter, compelled him to raise his siege from thence. But the next summer after, as soon as ever he

came before York, he had it immediately surrendered to him; such and so great was the fear, that his unexpected success the year before had struck into the minds of men. He took up his winter-quarters there, whither resorted to him the prime persons of the neighbourhood, and of his subjects, where they spent the latter end of December in mirth, jollity, drinking, and the vices which are too often the consequences of them; so that the representations of the old heathenish feasts, dedicated to Saturn, were here again revived; but the number of days they lasted were doubled, and amongst the wealthier sort trebled, during which time they counted it almost a sin to treat of any serious matter. Gifts are sent mutually from and to one another; frequent invitations and feastings pass between friends, and the faults of servants are not punished. Our countrymen call this feast Juletide, substituting the name of Julius Cæsar for that of Saturn. The vulgar are yet persuaded, that the nativity of Christ is then celebrated; but it is plain, that they exhibit the lasciviousness of the Bacchanalia, rather than the memory of Christ's nativity.

In the mean time, the Saxons were reported to have pitched their tents by the river Humber; and, whether it was so or not, Arthur marched towards them: but in as much as the Britons were effeminated by pleasures, by that means they were less fit for military services; insomuch that they did not seem the same men, who had overthrown the Saxons in so many battles heretofore; for, by their luxurious idleness, they had added so much to their rashness as they had lost of their ancient severity of discipline. They being so, advice was given by the wiser sort, to send for aid from the Scots and Picts. Accordingly ambassadors were sent, and aid easily obtained; so that those who had been almost disjoined by ambition, were so reconciled by a mutual care of religion, and animated by emulation, that forces were sent from either king, sooner than could well have been imagined. Lothius also, that he might give a public testimony of his reconciliation, brought his sons, Modredus and Galvinus, with him into the camp; Galvinus he gave to Arthur, as his companion, whom he received with so great courtesy, that from that day forward they lived and died together. The army of the three kings being thus ready, and their camp joined, it was unanimously agreed between them, that as the danger was common to them all, and the cause of it was the same, so they would drive out the Saxons, and restore the Christian rites and religion, which were profaned by them. The armies drawing near the one to the other, Occa, son of a former Occa, then general of the Saxons, made haste to join battle. In the confederate army, the two wings were allotted to the Scots and Picts, the main battle to Arthur. The Scots, at the first onset, wounded Childerick, commander of that wing of the enemy, that fought against them: he falling, by reason of his wounds, so terrified the rest, that the whole wing was broken. In the other wing, Colgermus the Saxon, after

having cried out shame upon the perfidiousness of the Picts, assaulted Lothus, whom he knew by his habit and his arms, with great violence, and dismounted him; but he himself being hemmed in among the midst of his enemies, was run through by two Picts with spears on both sides of his body. The main battle, where the fight was the sharpest, having lost both wings, did at length give ground; Occa being wounded, was carried to the sea side, with as many as could get on ship-board with him, and transported into Germany; those of the remaining Saxons, who were most obstinate in their error, were put to death; the rest pretending to turn to the Christian religion were saved.

There were other great forces of the Saxons yet continuing in the eastern part of England and in Kent. The summer after, Arthur marched against them, having 10,000 Scots and Picts for his assistance; Congallus, the son of Eugenius, commanded the Scots; and Modredus, the son of Lothus, the Picts; both young men of great hope, and who had often given good testimonies of their valour and conduct. This army of three kings being about five miles from the enemy, and their camps being distant one from another; the Saxons being informed by their spies, that the Picts (who were farthest distant from the other forces) were very careless and secure, they made a sudden and unexpected assault on them in the night. Modredus made a gallant resistance for a time; at last, when things were almost desperate on his side, he mounted on a horse with Galanus, his father-in-law, and so fled to king Arthur. Arthur was noways dismayed at the loss of the Picts, but spent that day in settling things which were discomposed; after that, his army being commanded to march in the third watch, he came upon the enemy with a treble army, and was at the Saxons camp before they knew what the matter was: the Saxons, all in a terrible dismay, ran up and down, having no time to take council, or to arm themselves; thus their camp being entered, they were slain by the Britons, but more especially the enraged Picts were cruel to all without distinction.

Some writers of English antiquities say, that Arthur fought twelve pitched battles with the Saxons; but because they give us only the names of the places where they were fought, and nothing else, I shall mention them no otherwise. To speak briefly of his famous actions, this is manifest, that he wholly subdued the forces of the Saxons, and restored peace to Britain; and when he went over to settle things in Less Britain in France, he trusted the kingdom to Modredus his kinsman, who was to manage the government as king till his return. I have no certainty of the exploits he performed in Gaul: as to what Geoffry of Monmouth attributes to him there, it hath no shadow, much less likelihood of truth in it, so that I pass it all by as impudently forged, and as causelessly believed. But to return to the matter.

Whilst Arthur was absent, and intent on settling the Gallic af-
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fairs, here were sown the seeds of a war, most pernicious to Britain. There was a certain man in Arthur's retinue, named Constantine, the son of Cador, who, for the excellent endowments both of his body and mind, was highly in all men's favour. He secretly aimed at the kingdom, and to make the people his own; whereupon the nobles, at a convenient time, when the king was free from business, cast in words concerning his successor, beseeching him to add this also to the other innumerable blessings he had procured for his country; that if he died childless, he would not leave Britain destitute of a king, especially when so great wars were like to be waged against them. Hereupon, when some named Modredus as nearest of kin, and already accustomed to the government, both in peace and war; and one too who had given good proof of himself in his viccroyskip, who was also likely to make no small addition to the British affairs: this said, the multitude who favoured Constantine, cried out, that they would not have a stranger to be their king; and that Britain was not so bare of great men, but that it would afford a king within its own territories: they added also, that it was a foolish thing to seek for that abroad, which they could have at home. Arthur knew before the love of the people to Constantine; and therefore, though being a man otherwise ambitious, yet he easily took part with the people; and, from that day, shewed him openly, and cherished in him the hopes of the kingdom. Modredus' friends took this ill, and looked upon it as a great wrong to him; they alleged, that by the league made by Arthur with Lothus, it was expressly cautioned, that none should be preferred to the succession of the kingdom before the sons of Lothus. To which the contrary party answered, that that league was extorted by the necessity of the times against the common good of the whole nation, and that they were not obliged to keep it, now Lothus, with whom it was made, was dead. And that, therefore, the Picts would do well to be contented with their own bounds, and not to invade other men's. That the kingdom of Britain, by God's blessing, was now in that state, that it could not only defend itself against new injuries, but also revenge the old.

These things being brought to Modredus' ear, quite alienated his mind from Arthur, and inclined him to set up for himself, by maintaining his own dignity, only he a little suspended the war, till he had tried the minds of the Scots; when they were brought over to his party, an army was listed consisting of many Picts, Scots, and some Britons, who were induced to side with Modredus, either for the equity of his cause, the love of his person, or their private hatred of Arthur. Nay, Vanora, the wife of Arthur, was thought not to be ignorant of these new cabals, as having been too familiar with Modredus. Both armies pitched their tents by the Humber, and being ready to engage, proposals were made by the bishops on both sides, in order to a peace, but in vain; for Constantine's friends obstructed all, affirming, that the felicity of Arthur's fortune would

bear down all opposition. Hereupon a desperate fight began on both sides, but two things especially turned to the advantage of Modredus and his confederates, one was a marsh in the midst between them, which the Britons could not easily pass; the other was this, in the heat of the fight there was one suborned to spread a report among the Britons, that Arthur was slain, and therefore all being lost, every one should shift for himself. The rumour spread presently, they all fled, yet there was a great slaughter on both sides, neither was the victory joyous to either party; for on the one side Modredus was slain, and on the other his brother Galvinus; Arthur himself mortally wounded, and a great booty taken.

I very well know what fabulous matters are reported by many concerning the life and death of Arthur, but they are not fit to be related, lest they cause a mist to be cast over his other famous actions; for when men confidently affirm lies, they cause the truth itself many times to be called in question. This is certain, he was a great man, and very valiant, bearing an entire love to his country, in freeing them from servitude; in restoring the true worship of God, and in reforming it when it was corrupted. I have spoken these things concerning his lineage, life and death, more prolixly than the nature of my design required; for I never meant to record all the exploits of the Britons, but to free and preserve the affairs of our own nation from the oblivion of time, and the fabulous tales of some lewd and ill-disposed writers. I have insisted longer on the exploits of Arthur, partly because some curtail them out of envy, and others heighten them with ostentatious hyperboles. He died in the year of our Lord five hundred and forty-two, after he had reigned twenty-four years.

But to return to the affairs of Scotland; Goranus, the king, now grown old, departed this life, after he had governed Scotland thirty-four years; it is thought he was treacherously slain by his subjects. There was one Toncetius, chief justice in criminal matters, a man no less cruel than covetous; who played many foul pranks against the richer sort, and thought he might easily get pardon of all from the king, because by this means he had augmented his treasury. The people could not easily obtain admittance to the king, now grown weak with age and sickness, to make their complaints; and, if they had access, they judged their allegations would not have been believed against such a principal officer, and so high a favourite, so that they set upon Toncetius and murdered him. But after the heat of their anger was over, when they began to think with themselves how foul a fact they had committed, and that there was no pardon to be expected by them, they turned their wrath and fury upon the king himself; and, by the instigation of Donald of Athol, they entered into his palace, and slew him also.

EUGENIUS III. *the forty-sixth king.*

EUGENIUS, the son of Congallus, succeeded him: when he was advised by some of the nobility to revenge the death of his uncle Goranus; he entertained the motion so coldly, that he himself was not without suspicion in the case, and the suspicion was increased, because he took Donald of Athol into his grace and favour. So that the wife of Goranus, for fear, fled with her small children into Ireland. But Eugenius, to purge his life and manners from so foul an imputation, so managed the kingdom, that none of the former kings could be justly preferred before him; he assisted Modredus, and also Arthur, against the Saxons. He sent several captains to make daily incursions into the English borders, but he never fought a pitched battle with them. He died in the year of Christ five hundred and fifty-eight, having reigned twenty-three years.

CONVALLUS, *the forty-seventh king.*

His brother Convallus, next governed the kingdom, and governed it ten years with the greatest peace and tranquillity; a man whose excellent virtues rendered him worthy of eternal memory; for besides his equity in matters of law, and an aversion which he had from his very soul to all covetousness, he vied with the very monks themselves, in point of sobriety of life; though they, at that time, were under a most severe discipline. He enriched priests with lands and other revenues, more out of a pious intention, than with any good success. He restrained the soldiers, who were declining to effeminacy and luxury, (and abused the blessing of peace), rather by the example and authority of his own life, than by the severity of laws. He called home the sons of Goranus, who for fear of Eugenius had fled into Ireland; but before their return he died, in the year five hundred and sixty-eight. He never fought a battle himself, but only assisted the Britons with auxiliary forces against the Saxons, with whom they had frequent combats, the successes of which were very different.

KINNATELLUS, *the forty-eighth king.*

WHEN he was dead, and the throne devolved upon his brother Kinnatellus, Aidanus, the son of Goranus, came into Scotland, by the persuasions of Columba a holy man, who, two years before, had come out of Ireland. This person introduced him to the king; who beyond his own, and the expectation of all other men, received him very graciously, and desired him to be of good cheer, for it would shortly be his turn to reign. For Kinnatellus, worn out with age and sickness, and not capable of going through with the administration himself, placed Aidanus at the helm of affairs, and so died, having reigned fourteen (some say fifteen) months. Some writers leave him out, and will have it,

that Aidanus immediately succeeded Convallus; but there are more who give Kinnatellus a place betwixt them.

AIDANUS, the forty-ninth king.

AIDANUS being nominated king by Kinnatellus, and confirmed by the people, was installed by Columba: for the authority of that man was so great, in those days, that neither prince nor people would undertake any thing without his advice. And at that time, after he had in a long speech exhorted the king to rule equitably over his people, and the people to be loyal to their king, he earnestly pressed them both to persevere in the pure worship of God, for that then both of them would prosper; but if they made any defection from it, they must expect destruction as the reward of their apostasy. Having performed this service, he returned into his own country.

The first expedition of Aidanus was against the robbers who infested Galloway. Amongst whom when he came, he put their ringleaders to death, and fear restrained the rest; but he met with a greater storm at his return. For, after he had held three conventions of the estates in Galloway, Aber or Lochaber, and Caithness, and thought all things were settled, there was a tumult arose amongst them as they were a-hunting, where much blood was spilt, and the king's officers, who came to punish the offenders, were repulsed and beaten: the authors, for fear of punishment, fled into Lothian, to Brudeus king of the Picts: when ambassadors were sent to him, to deliver them up according to the league betwixt them, they were refused; whereupon a fierce war commenced betwixt the Scots and Picts, but it was quickly put an end to by the means of Columba, who was highly esteemed by both nations, according to his distinguished merits.

In the mean time, England was again divided into seven kingdoms, and the Britons were driven into the peninsula of Wales: but the Saxons, not contented with such large dominions, kindled a new war betwixt the Scots and Picts. The chief author and incendiary in this point was Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, a covetous man, and who was weary of peace, out of a mere craving appetite of enlarging his dominions. He persuaded the Picts, (but with very much ado, for Brudeus would hardly be brought to consent to it,) to drive away preys out of the Scots territories, and that would be a handle for a new war. Aidanus perfectly well apprized of the treachery of the Saxons, that he might also strengthen himself with foreign aid, renewed the ancient league with Malgo the Briton. He sent his son Grifinus, and his sister's son, Brendinus, a petty king of Eubonia, now called the Isle of Man, a military person, with forces; who joining with the Britons, entered Northumberland, and after three days march came to the enemy; but the English declined an engagement, because they expected new succours, which were reported to be near at hand: for indeed Ceulinus,

king of the East-Saxons, a very warlike man, was coming to them with great forces; but the Scots and Britons intercepted, and fell upon him in his march, and wholly destroyed the van of his army, which was a long way before the rest; together with his son Cutha; but they were afraid to attack those behind, lest they should be circumvented and surrounded by Ethelfrid, who was at no great distance. The two kings of the Saxons being joined together, renewed the fight, with much slaughter on both sides, and the Scots and the Britons were vanquished and put to flight. There were slain of the Scots nobles, Grifinus and Brendinus; in the opposite army Ethelfrid lost one of his eyes, and Brudeus was carried wounded out of the field, to the great astonishment and dismay of his party.

The next summer after, Ethelfrid uniting his forces with those of the Picts, marched into Galloway, supposing he should find all things there in great consternation, by reason of their ill success the last year: but Aidanus coming with his forces thither sooner than his enemies thought, set upon the straggling plunderers, and drove them full of fear and trembling to their camp. Thus having chastised their rashness, and supposing they would then be more quiet, the night after, he passed by their camp, and joined the Britons. Both armies having thus united their forces, pitched their tents in a narrow valley of Annandale; and their enemies, as now sure of their destruction, beset the passages entering into it. But they having fortified their camp, as if they intended to keep that ground, took the opportunity at night time, when the tide was out, to pass through a ford, which was dangerously full of quick sands, but that they knew every part of it, and so march into Cumberland, and afterwards into Northumberland, making great havock in every place they came at. The enemy followed them at their heels, and when they came in sight of one another, both armies prepared themselves for the fight. The Scots and Britons made four commanders more than they had before; who were noble persons, of great experience in military affairs, that so the head-strong common soldiers might have the direction of a greater number of captains to guide their fury right. The officers superadded were Constantine and Menecrinus, Britons; Calenus and Murdacus, Scotsmen. By their conduct and encouragement the soldiers fell upon the enemy, with so great violence, that they were presently broken and put to flight. There goes a report that Columba, being then in the isle Icolmkill, told his companions of this victory, the very same hour in which it was obtained. Of the Saxon nobles there were slain, in this fight, Ciolinus and Vitellius, both great warriors, and highly descended. About eleven years after this victory, the Saxons and Picts infested the adjacent country; whereupon a day was appointed, on which the Britons and Scots should meet, and, with their united forces, set upon the Saxons. Aidanus, though very old, came to the place at the appointed

time, and staid for the Britons, but in vain, for they came not; yet he drove-preys out of his enemies country: Ethelfrid having now got a fair opportunity of putting himself upon action, set upon the dispersed Scots, and made a great slaughter amongst them. Aidanus having lost many of his men, fled for his life; yet the victory was not unbloody to the Saxons, for they lost Theobald, Ethelfrid's brother, and some of those squadrons that followed him were almost wholly cut off. Aidanus having met with this sad overthrow, and being also informed of the death of Columba, that holy man, whom he so highly honoured, and plainly foreseeing to what cruelty the remnant of Christians was likely to be exposed, grief and age so wore him out, that he did not long survive; he reigned thirty-four years, and died in the year of our Lord 604. In his reign it was, that a certain monk, named Austin, came into Britain, being sent by pope Gregory; who, by his ambition, in teaching a new form of religion, mightily disturbed the old, for he did not so much instruct men in the discipline of Christianity, as in the ceremonies of the Roman church. Nay, the Britons, before his coming, were taught the principles of the Christian religion, by the disciples of John the Evangelist, and were instructed in the same by the monks, who were in that age learned and pious men. As for Austin, he laboured to reduce all things to the dominion of the bishop of Rome only, and gave himself out to be the only archbishop of the isle of Britain; and withal introduced a dispute, neither necessary nor useful concerning the day on which Easter was to be kept; and did by this means mightily trouble the churches: nay, he so loaded the Christian discipline, which was then inclining towards superstition, with such new ceremonies and figments of miracles, that he scarce left any mark or footstep of true piety behind him.

KENNETHUS I. *the fiftieth king.*

AFTER Aidanus, Kennethus was elected king; he did nothing memorable in his time. He died in the fourth, (or, as some say,) the twelfth month, after he began to reign.

EUGENIUS IV. *the fifty-first king.*

NEXT after him, Eugenius, the son of Aidanus, was proclaimed king, in the year of our Lord 605. He was brought up (as the *Black Book of Paisley* hath it) piously and carefully under Columba, being very well educated in human learning; yet in this he swerved from the instruction of his master, that he was more addicted to war than peace; for he exercised the Saxons and Picts with daily incursions. His government was very severe and rough; those who were proud and contumacious, sooner felt the point of his sword than they received from him any conditions of peace; but to those who asked pardon for their offences, and vo-

luntarily surrendered themselves, he was very merciful and easy to forgive, and not at all insolent in his victories. This is what that book reports concerning Eugenius. But Boetius says, on the contrary, that he lived in great peace; which happened not so much from his foreign leagues, as from the discords of his enemies, who kept up a civil war among themselves. For the English, who inhabited the south parts, and professed the sacred name of Jesus Christ, whilst they were endeavouring to revenge the injuries offered to them, deprived Ethelfrid, the then most potent king of Northumberland, both of his life and kingdom together. Edvinus succeeded him, and Ethelfrid's relations fled into Scotland, amongst whom were seven of his sons, and one daughter. This came to pass in the tenth year of the reign of Eugenius. As these Saxons flew to him for refuge, so he (though he knew them to be enemies both to him and the whole Christian name) entertained and protected them with great courtesy and humanity as long as he lived: he gave them no less than royal reception, and took mighty care to have them piously educated in the Christian religion. He died in the sixteenth year of his reign, and was much lamented by all men, who had every one a loss, and found every one a want of him.

FERCHARDUS I. *the fifty-second king.*

His son, Ferchardus, was substituted in his room, in the year of Christ 622, and in the thirteenth year of Heraclius the emperor. He being a politic man, and very wickedly guileful, endeavoured to change the lawful government of the land into tyranny; in order to which, he nourished factions amongst the nobility, supposing, by that means, to effect what wickedly he designed with impunity. But the nobles, understanding his malicious aim, secretly made up the breach amongst themselves; and, calling an assembly of the estates, summoned him to appear; which he refusing to do, they stormed the castle where he was, and so drew him, by force, to judgment. Many and grievous crimes were objected against him, and particularly the Pelagian heresy, the contempt of baptism, and other sacred rites. Then, as he was not able to purge himself from any one of them, he was committed to prison; where, that he might not live to be a public spectacle of disgrace, he put an end to his own life in the fourteenth year of his reign.

DONALDUS IV. *the fifty-third king.*

His brother Donaldus, or Donevaldus, mounted the throne in his stead, who, calling to mind the eulogy of his father, and the miserable end of his brother, made it his business to maintain the true worship of God; and that, not only at home, but he sought by all lawful means to propagate it abroad. For when Edwin was dead, he furnished the relations and the children of Ethelfrid, who had remained exiles in Scotland for many years, with accommodations to return home; he bestowed upon them gifts; he sent forces

to accompany them; and gave them free liberty to pass and repass as occasion should require. This Edwin, spoken of above, was slain by Kedvalla, as Bede calls him, king of the Britons, and by Penda, king of the Mercians; one of which was his enemy, out of an old pique to the nation itself; the other out of a new one, for his having embraced Christianity; but both, still more out of an emulation of his power. The victory is reported to have been more cruel than any in the monuments of history; for whilst Penda endeavoured to root out the Christians, and Kedvalla the Saxons, their fury was so great, that they spared neither sex nor age. After the death of Edwin, Northumberland was divided into two kingdoms. Osticus, cousin-german to Edwin, was made king of the Deiri; and Eanfrid, as Bede calls him, but our writers name him Andefridus, Ethelfrid's eldest son, king of the Bernici. They renounced the Christian religion, in which they had been diligently educated; one by the monks, the other by Paulinus the bishop, and revolted to their ancient superstition, but were both, shortly after, deprived of their kingdoms and their lives too, by Penda. Oswald, the son of Ethelfrid, succeeded them both, a studious promoter of the Christian religion. He did but desire Donaldus, by his ambassadors, to send him some doctors of the Christian church, and he presently sent him some, and those truly men of great sanctity and learning; who were accordingly received by him with great humanity, and most bountifully rewarded. Neither did he think it below his kingly dignity to interpret the meaning of their sermons preached to the people, who did not so well understand the Scottish language, and he would often gather them together for that purpose; all which is clearly expressed by Bede. Donaldus died in the fourteenth year of his reign, leaving a precious memory of his virtues behind him.

FERCHARDUS II. *the fifty-fourth king.*

FERCHARDUS, his brother's son, of that name, succeeded him, a person the most flagitious in nature. He had every vice stamped upon his heart, insatiable were his desires of wine and wealth. His cruelty towards men was perfectly inhuman, his impiety towards God thoroughly diabolical. When his cruelty and rapine had raged among other folks, he turned his fury at last upon his own domestics. He killed his own wife, and he ravished his own daughters. For these crying sins he was excommunicated from the society of Christians. And, as the nobles were just going to assemble, by way of consultation, about his punishment, Coleman, that holy bishop, stopped them; for he openly told him before several of them, "That divine vengeance would speedily overtake him." And truly the event verified his prediction; for a few days after, as he was hunting, he was hurt by a wolf, and fell into a fever; and yet after that, not being able to abstain from his former intemperance, at last his body was eaten up with the lousy disease; and

then he is said to have cried out, that he was deservedly punished, because he had not hearkened to the wholesome warning given him by Coleman. Thus, at last, seeing his error, and Coleman comforting him with hopes of pardon, in case he truly repented, he caused himself to be carried abroad in a litter, meanly apparelled, and there he made a public confession of his wickedness, and so died, in the year of our Lord 668. Scotland groaned under this monster eighteen years.

MALDUINUS, *the fifty-fifth king.*

MALDUINUS, the son of Donald, succeeded him; who, that he might strengthen those parts of the kingdom which were weakened by the tyranny of the former king, made peace with all his neighbours: but having made all things quiet abroad, he was disturbed by a sedition at home, arising between the Argyle and Lennox men. Malduinus went in person against the authors of this tumult, that so he might punish them without prejudising the common people. They, to avoid the king's wrath, composed their private jars, and fled into the Æbudæ isles. The king sent for them to have them punished, and the islanders not daring to retain them, delivered them up; their punishment kept the rest in their duties. About this time it was, that when the Scottish monks had propagated the doctrine of Christ almost all over England, and had so instructed the English youth, that now they seemed able, of themselves, to preach the gospel in a proper manner to their own countrymen, their envy against their very masters grew in proportion to their learning; and this prejudice went so far, that the Scottish monks were forced to return into their own country. As this contumely cut off the concord between the two kingdoms, so the modesty of those who had received the wrong kept both nations from an open formal war; but frequent incursions were made, and skirmishes happened in divers places. There broke out at this time a terrible plague over all Europe, such as was never recorded by any writer before, only the Scots and Picts were free from the contagion.

By reason of the frequent injuries mutually offered, and preys driven away on both sides, each nation was like to break out into an open war, if the death of Malduinus had not prevented it. After he had reigned twenty years, his wife, suspecting that he had to do with an harlot, strangled him, and four days after she suffered for the fact, and was burnt alive.

EUGENIUS V. *the fifty-sixth king.*

EUGENIUS next, the fifth son of king Dongardus, began his reign. Egfrid, the king of Northumberland, with whom he chiefly desired to be at peace, endeavouring to deceive him by feigned truces, he played the same game of state, and turned Egfrid's artifices upon himself. Thus, while both made a shew of peace in words, they each secretly prepared for war; when the truce was

ended, Egfrid, though his friends dissuaded him from it, joined forces with the Picts, and entering into Scotland, he sent out his foragers all over Galloway; but he was overthrown by Eugenius, the Picts giving ground in the fight, and lost almost all his army, so that he hardly escaped; but at last wounded, and with but a few followers, he made shift to get home. The next year, his friends then also dissuading him, he drew forth his army against the Picts; who, pretending to run away, insnared him into an ambush, and cut him off, with all his men. The Picts laying hold of this so fair an opportunity, recovered those large territories which had been taken from them in former wars; and the Britons who freed themselves from the government of the Angli, or English, together with the Scots, entered Northumberland, and made such an havoc there, that it never recovered itself since. Soon after Eugenius died, in the fourth year of his reign.

EUGENIUS VI. *the fifty-seventh king.*

EUGENIUS VI. the son of Ferchard, succeeded Eugenius V. as did Alfrid, brother to Egfrid, succeed him in Northumberland: both kings were very learned, especially in theology, as learning went at that time of day; and also friendly one to the other, on account of their common studies, so that the peace was faithfully maintained betwixt them. Alfrid made use of this tranquillity to settle his kingdom, though in narrower limits than before; but the Scots had neither an established peace, nor yet a declared war, with the Picts: excursions were frequently made, with very various successes, though Cutberectus, an English bishop, and Adamannus, a Scottish bishop, laboured in vain to reconcile them; yet they ordered matters so well, that they never fought a pitched battle. In the mean time, Eugenius being inflamed with an inexpiable hatred against the perfidiousness of the Picts, was stopped in the midst of his career to revenge, for he died, having reigned ten years. In his reign, it is reported that it rained blood all over Britain for seven days, and that the milk, cheese, and butter, were also turned into blood.

AMBERKELETHUS, *the fifty-eighth king.*

AFTER him Amberkelethus, the son of Findanus, and nephew of Eugenius V. obtained the kingdom. At the beginning of his reign, he counterfeited temperance, but soon returned to his natural disposition, and broke out into all manner of wickedness. Garnard, king of the Picts, laying hold of this opportunity, gathered a great army together, and invaded the Scots. Amberkelethus could hardly be excited to take arms, without much importunity, but at last he did: as he was going in the night time to do his private occasions, having but two servants with him, he was slain with an arrow, (it was not known who shot it,) when he had not reigned full two years; but some say, that when he pressed upon

the enemy in a thick wood, he was hurt with an arrow by them, and so died ten days after.

EUGENIUS VII. *the fifty-ninth king.*

EUGENIUS VII. brother of the former king, was declared king by the suffrage of the soldiers in the field, that so the army might not disband, nor be without an head. He, putting little confidence in an army levied by a slothful king, lengthened out the war by truces, and at last concluded it by marrying Spondana, daughter of Garnardus. She, not long after, was murdered in her bed by two Athol men, who had conspired to destroy the king. The king himself was accused of the murder, but falsely; and before he was brought to judgment, the murderers were found out, whereupon he was freed. The offenders were put to the most exquisite of tortures. When matters were composed abroad, the king turned himself to the affairs of peace, and his delight lay very much in hunting, but his chief care was for religion: it was his first design, and by his appointment, that the noble acts and enterprizes of kings should be registered in monasteries. He maintained an uninterrupted peace seventeen years with all his neighbours, and then died at Abernethy.

MURDACUS, *the sixtieth king.*

EUGENIUS, a little before his death, commended Murdacus, the son of Amberkelethus, to the nobility to be his successor. There was peace all over Britain during his reign, as Bede says about the end of his history. He imitated Eugenius, not only in maintaining peace, but in endowing of monasteries also. He repaired the convent of White-horn, which was demolished. He died at the entrance into the sixteenth year of his reign.

ETFINUS, *the sixty-first king.*

IN the year of our Lord 730, Etfinus, the son of Eugenius VII. entered upon the kingdom. He being emulous of the kings before him, kept the kingdom in great peace during the space of 31 years, that he managed the government: when he was old, and could not perform the kingly office himself, he appointed four vicegerents to administer justice to the people. Whilst these presided over the affairs of Scotland, some loose persons resuming their former luxuriant extravagances, by neglect, or (as some think) even by the encouragement of the magistrates, put all things into confusion; but their wicked pranks were the less taken notice of, by reason of the excessive cruelty and pride of one Donaldus, who ranging over all Galloway, made the country people pay tribute to him; or else he robbed them, and reduced them to great want.

EUGENIUS VIII. *the sixty-second king.*

AMIDST these tumults, Eugenius VIII. the son of Murdacus, was set up in the room of Etfinus deceased; his first enterprize was to suppress Donaldus, whom he overthrew in many bloody fights, and at last took him prisoner, and publicly executed him, to the joy of all the spectators. He put Murdacus to death, vicegerent of Galloway, for siding with Donaldus, and set a pecuniary fine on the rest of the vicegerents: he made satisfaction to the people who had been robbed, out of the offenders estates. Wicked men being terrified for fear of these punishments, a great calm ensued after a most violent tempest, and he confirmed the leagues formerly made with the neighbouring kings. Yet after all this, he, who got so much glory in war, when once peace was ratified, gave himself up to all manner of vice; and seeing he would not be reclaimed, neither by the advices of his friends, nor of the priests, all the nobles conspired to destroy him, which they did in a public convention, in the third year of his reign. The companions and associates of his wicked practices ended their lives at the gallows, all men rejoicing, made a holiday to see their executions.

FERGUSIUS III. *the sixty-third king.*

FERGUSIUS III. the son of Etfinus, succeeded him; who, under a like counterfeit pretence of virtue, being horribly vicious at the bottom, died also after the like violent manner, having reigned the same number of years, viz. three. He was poisoned by his wife; others write, that when his wife had often upbraided him with living in contempt of matrimony, and following whole flocks of harlots, and found no amendment from her reproofs, she strangled him at night, as he was sleeping in his bed: when enquiry was made into his death, and many of his friends were accused, yet, though severely tortured, would confess nothing; the queen, though otherwise of a fierce nature, and impetuous, yet pitying the suffering of so many innocent persons, appeared, and from a lofty stand that she had chosen on some high place, told the assembly, "that she was the author of the murder;" and presently, lest she should be made a living spectacle of reproach, she stabbed herself in the breast with a knife; which fact of hers was variously spoken of, and descanted upon, according to the several humours and dispositions of the men of those days.

SOLVATHIUS, *the sixty-fourth king.*

KING Solvathius, the son of Eugenius VIII. is the next in order; who, if he had not contracted the gout, by being in damps and colds, in the third year of his reign, might well be reckoned for his personal valour amongst the best of kings; yet notwithstanding his disease, he shewed his great wisdom and prudence in the choice of his generals, by whom he appeased all tumults.

First of all, Donaldus Banus *i. e.* White, standing in no fear of being attacked by a lame and gouty prince, had the boldness to seize upon all the western islands, and to call himself king of the *Æbudæ*. Afterwards, making a descent on the continent, and carrying away much prey, he was forced, by Cullanus, general of the Argyll men, and by Ducalus, captain of the Athol men, into a wood, out of which there was but one passage; so that their endeavours to escape were fruitless, but he and his party were there slain to a man. One Gilcolumbus, out of the same hopes, and with the same audacity, assaulted Galloway, which his father had oppressed before; but he also was overthrown by the same generals, and shared the self-same fate. In the mean time there was no disturbance from the English and Picts, but the continuance of peace was occasioned by their combustions at home. Solvathius reigned 20 years, it being the year of Christ 787, he died, and had the general applause of mankind.

ACHAIUS, the sixty-fifth king.

ACHAIUS, the son of Etfinus, succeeded him; he had made peace with the Angles and Picts, but understanding that war was threatened from Ireland, composed the seditions that were like to happen at home; and this he did not only by his industry, but by his largesses and bounty. The cause of the Irish war was this. In the reign of the former king, who was unfit to make any expedition, the Irish and the islanders, out of hope of prey and impunity, had made a descent upon Kintire, the adjoining peninsula, with great armies, both at one and the same time. But a feud arising between the plunderers, many of the islanders, and all the Irish, were slain. To revenge this slaughter, the Irish rigged out a great navy, to sail into the *Æbudæ*. Achaius sent ambassadors to them, to acquaint them, that they had no just cause for a war, in regard that thieves, fighting for their prey, had slain one another; that the loss was not, that so many were slain, but rather that any of them had escaped. They farther alleged, that the king, and his national councils, were so far from offering any injury to the Irish, that they had put all the authors of the late slaughter to death. The ambassadors discoursing many things to this purpose, all they could say was so coarsely and barbarously rejected by the Irish, that they sent out their fleet against the Albine Scots, even before the departure of those ambassadors; when their fleet was on the main, a tempest arose, in which they universally perished. This mischance occasioned some sentiments of remorse and pity in the Irish, so that now they humbly sued for that peace, which they had before disdainfully refused.

But first of all, Achaius made peace between the Scots and the French, chiefly for this reason, because not only the Saxons, who inhabited Germany, but even those who had fixed in Britain, infested Gaul with piratical invasions. And besides, Charles the Great,

whose desire was to ennoble France, not only by arms, but literature, had sent for some learned men out of Scotland, to read philosophy in Greek and Latin at Paris. For there were yet many monks in Scotland, eminent for learning and piety, the ancient discipline being then not quite extinguished; amongst whom was Johannes, surnamed Scotus, or, which is all one, Albinus, for the Scots, in their own language, call themselves Albini: he was the preceptor of Charles the Great, and left very many monuments of his learning behind him, and, in particular, some rules of rhetoric, which I have seen, with the name Johannes Albinus inscribed, as author of the book. There are also some writings of Clement, a Scot, remaining, who was a great professor of learning at the same time in Paris. There were many other Scottish monks, who went over into France, out of their zeal for God and godliness, who preached the doctrine of Christianity to the people inhabiting about the Rhine, and that with so great success, that the people built monasteries in many places. The Germans pay this to their memory, that even to our days, Scots are made the governors of those monasteries. Though Achaius was desirous of peace, yet the Pictish affairs drew him on to a war. For when Athelstan, the Englishman, had wasted the neighbouring lands of the Picts, Hungus their king obtained the aid of ten thousand Scots from Achaius, who before was disgusted with the English. He placed his son Alpinus commander over them, who was born to him by the sister of Hungus; by the assistance of those auxiliaries, he carried a great deal of plunder out of Northumberland. Athelstan, a fierce warrior, was almost at his heels, and overtook him not far from Haddington. The Picts dismayed at the sudden approach of their enemies, stood immediately to their arms, and kept themselves in their stations, till very late: having set their watches for the night, Hungus being inferior in other things, desired aid of God, and gave himself wholly up to prayer. At last, when his body was wearied with labour, and his mind oppressed with care, he seemed to behold Andrew the apostle standing by him in his sleep, and promising him the victory. This vision being declared to the Picts, filled them full of hope, so that they prepared themselves with great alacrity for a combat, which it was in vain to think of avoiding. The next day being spent in light skirmishes, on the third they came to a pitched battle. Some add, that another prodigy was seen in the heavens, a cross like the letter X at the time of the engagement, which did so terrify the English, that they could hardly sustain the first onset of the Picts. Athelstan was slain there, who gave name to the place of battle, which is yet called Athelstan's ford. Hungus ascribed the victory to St. Andrew, to whom, besides other gifts, he offered the tithes of his royal demesnes. I am of opinion, that this was the Athelstan, commander of the Danes, to whom the English affirm that Northumberland was granted by

Alfrid. Achaius died the thirty-second year of his reign, and in the year of Christ eight hundred and nineteen.

CONGALLUS III. *the sixty-sixth king.*

CONGALLUS, his cousin-german, succeeded him, who reigned five years in profound peace both at home and abroad.

DONGALLUS, *the sixty-seventh king.*

DONGALLUS, the son of Solvathius, was next king to him. The young soldiers, not able to endure the severity of his government, went in a body to Alpinus the son of Achaius: and because they could not persuade him by fair means to undertake the government of the kingdom, they compelled him by force and menaces to be seemingly on their side. He having raised and formed an army, and pretending to do as they would have him, disappointed them, and fled to Dongallus. His coming was acceptable to the king, but a great dismay to the rebels; and therefore they accuse him to the king, as if Alpinus himself had persuaded them to rebel. The king well perceiving their calumny, prepared an army so suddenly, that he was upon them before there could be the least rumour of his coming. Those of them whom he took, he punished.

In the mean time, Hungus died, and his eldest son Dorstologus was slain by the treachery of his brother Eganus; neither did the murderer long survive his brother. So that the male stock of Hungus being extinct, his sister's son Alpinus, as next heir, both by the ancient law, and in right of blood, claimed the kingdom. The Picts disdained him as a foreigner, whereupon Dongallus sent messengers to them to expostulate the matter, but they refused to give them audience, and even commanded them to depart in four days. Dongallus intended to make war upon them with all his might: but in the midst of his preparation, as he was passing over the Spey, whose current was very violent, the vessel, in which he was, sunk, and he was drowned after he had reigned six years, some say seven.

ALPINUS, *the sixty-eight king.*

ALPINUS, the son of Achaius, led the army raised by Dongallus against Feredethus, who had seized upon, and arrogated the kingdom of the Picts to himself. The armies met at Restenot, a village of Angus; the fight was maintained with great obstinacy and cruel bloodshed, even until night; the victory was uncertain, tho' the death of Feredethus made it incline to the side of the Scots. For when he saw his men fly in the fight, with a troop of young noblemen he broke through the main body of the Scots, and being thus separated from his men, was there slain, with the flower of his nobility. Brudus was substituted in his place, a slothful person, and

unfit for military affairs. In his reign, the Scots drove preys out of their enemies country without resistance; and the Picts raising up a tumult on purpose amongst themselves, slew Brudus before he had reigned one year. Then they set up Kennethus, another of Feredethus' sons, in his stead; one neither more valiant, nor more successful, than his brother; for, when he had levied an army, and came in sight of his enemies, he stole privately away, and so was killed by a countryman, who upbraided him as a fugitive, not knowing who he was. The Picts having lost their king, before their enemies were sensible of it, returned home and made another Brudus king, one of high descent and noble achievements. He, as soon as he entered upon the government, set upon the straggling plunderers, and curbed their rashness, making a great slaughter amongst them; after that, that he might strengthen his weak forces by foreign aids, he sent ambassadors, with great gifts, to the English, who were the nearest to him. They received the gifts, and were large enough in their promises of assistance; but, though the Picts earnestly pressed them, yet they put them off, laying the fault on their own combustions at home. The Picts being disappointed of their hope there, levied every man of their own that were able to bear arms, and resolved to venture their all; with this resolution, they marched directly towards the enemy, who were encamped not far from Dundee. As soon as they met, the battle was so much the more sharp, by reason of the old hatred, and the recent and fresh disgust, the many mutual slaughters, and the frequent injuries and wrongs committed on both sides. The conflict was a long time doubtful, when, at last, an hundred Pictish horse rose out of an ambush; who, that they might seem to be a greater number, had also mounted their baggage-men and attendants upon their baggage-horses, and so, shewing themselves upon the tops of the hills, they wheeled about, as if they would have set upon the rear of their enemies army. That apprehension struck such terror into the Scots, that they presently scattered, and fled into the neighbouring woods, by which many of them saved their lives, only some few were slain in the fight, but more in flight, by the nimble baggagers, who were set on horseback. King Alpinus, and many of his nobles were taken prisoners, and inhumanly put to death. The king's head was fastened to a pole, and carried up and down the army; till at last they set it up for a spectacle in the most eminent place of the greatest town they had, (which then was Abernethy.) The place where he was slain, as yet retains his name, being called, Bas Alpin, *i. e.* The death of Alpin.

KENNETHUS II. *the sixty-ninth king.*

ALPINUS being slain, after he had reigned three years, his son Kennethus succeeded him. The next summer the Picts, having some hopes, that, if they did but endeavour it, the Scots might easily be driven out of Britain, as they had been heretofore; they hired some troops of the English, and joined them with what-

ever forces of their own they could raise. But a sudden sedition arising among themselves, and that so outrageous, that king Brudus, himself could not compose it, the army disbanded upon it; and Brudus died about three months after; rather of a broken heart, than of any disease. His brother Druskenus was declared king in his room, who in vain attempted to compose things at home; but, in the interim, some young Scots fetched off by night the head of Alpinus, from the place where the Picts had set it up, and brought it to Kennethus; he not only commended them for their noble exploit, but also rewarded them with a grant of some lands. Kennethus summoned together an assembly to consult about a war with the Picts; and though the king himself, and the forwardest of the soldiers, were for revenging the treachery of such a perfidious people, yet the major part, and especially the graver sort, thought it more advisable to stay till their forces, which had been weakened in former wars, had recovered themselves afresh; in the mean time, they would neither seek peace, nor yet make war with the Picts, till a better opportunity for either should offer itself. This opinion prevailed, so that there was peace betwixt the two nations for three years, as if it had been by common consent. But in the fourth year, Kennethus, eager to renew the war, and yet finding few of the nobles of his mind, invited them to a banquet: the entertainment continued till late at night, so that they were all obliged, of necessity, to lodge at the king's house, which they might the more easily do, in regard every man, according to the custom of their ancestors, lay on the ground, and so they disposed of themselves in that large house, having nothing under them but leaves and grass. When they were gone to sleep, the king suborned a youth, one of his kinsmen, commanding him to clothe himself with the skins of fishes, especially of the stock fish, dried in the wind, and so to enter by night; and to speak through a long tube, that the voice might better reach their ears at a distance, and thus to exhort them to war; as if a message had been sent them from heaven to that purpose. The nobles were suddenly awakened at this voice, which, at that time, seemed to them to be greater and more august than a man's; many also were laden with wine, and the sudden flashing of light from the fishes skins, darting upon their drowsy eyes, and dazzling them, put them into a very great astonishment; in fine, an unwonted apparition affected the eyes of them all, and a kind of religious consternation seized upon their minds. And that which increased the admiration was, that the messenger, stripping himself of his disguised habit, and by a secret passage, conveying himself away, as in an instant, seemed to have vanished out of sight. When the news of it was brought to the king in the morning, and much added to the story, as is usual in such cases, he was pleased to affirm too, that he saw the like apparition in his sleep. Immediately a war was concluded upon by the general consent of them all, as if they had received the word of command from God himself. When the ar-

mies were led forth to battle, as soon as ever they came in sight one of another, every one ran upon the enemy, which stood next to him, without so much as staying for the command of their captains. The fight was as fiercely continued; as it was eagerly begun. At last the victory inclined to the Scots. Those in whom the Picts put most confidence, proved their ruin. For the English troops seeing that all things were managed without order, and by a tumultuary force, retreated to the next hill, as if they had only been spectators of other men's dangers. There was a mighty slaughter made of the Picts. For the Scots were highly provoked against them, not only by their ancient hatred, but by the remembrance of their late cruelty against Alpinus, and against the rest whom they had taken prisoners with that king: but that which chiefly inflamed their minds, was a watch-word spread abroad among the Scots, "That they should remember Alpinus;" the moment that word was given, they spared neither age, nor any rank of men. The hills covered the retreat of the English, and the Scots were so vehemently intent upon revenging themselves on the Picts, that they could not pursue them. This victory reduced the Picts to so low an ebb, and rendered their condition so deplorable, that, though they endeavoured to make peace, yet all was in vain, for the Scots would hearken to no conditions, but the full and entire surrender of their whole kingdom. The next year, when all places were surrendered up beyond Forth, northwards, and garrisons placed in them, as Kennethus was marching his army against those on this side of it, word was brought him, that some of the garrisons which he had left behind, were taken, and the soldiers slain. Upon these advices, he marched his army back against the rebellious Picts, of whom he spared neither man, woman, nor child; but put the whole country to fire and sword. Druskenus seeing the Picts were enraged, almost like madmen, at the cruelty exercised over them, and knowing now that they must fight, not for their kingdom, but for their very lives, and the lives of their wives and children, gathered together all the force that ever he could make; and so passing the Forth, came to Scoon, a town situate on the bank of the river Tay, where he waited for the coming of the Scots. There they again endeavoured to make a pacification, offering to surrender all the country beyond the Forth, but the Scots would have all, or none. The fight, as must be in such circumstances of necessity, was very fierce. At last, the Picts, after an obstinate resistance, were broken, and the river Tay putting a stop to their flight, was the cause of their destruction. For Druskenus, and almost all his nobility, being not able to pass it, were there slain; and the common soldiers had no better fortune; for, as they crowded to the river in several places to save themselves, they laboured also under the same incapacity of passing it, and so they all lost their lives. Hence it is, (as I judge,) that our writers say, we fought with the Picts seven times in one day. The force of the Picts was wholly broken by this overthrow,

and Kennethus laid Lothian and the adjacent country waste, together with those beyond the Forth, that they might never be able to recover themselves again. The garrisons, for fear, surrendered themselves. Those few Picts who were left alive, fled into England, in an indigent and necessitous condition.



THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK VI.

As I formerly called Fergusius I. and after him, Fergusius II. the founders of the Scottish kingdom, and that with very great reason; so I may justly reckon Kennethus, the son of Alpinus, a third founder of it. Fergus I. from a mean beginning, advanced the affairs of the Scots to such an height, that they were envied by their neighbours. Fergus II. when they were banished and dispersed into remote countries, and in the judgment of their enemies, quite extirpated, did, as it were, recal them to life, and in a few years restored them to their ancient splendor. But Kennethus was so courageous as to accept of the kingdom, at a time when affairs were almost become desperate; nay, at a time when others thought that the small remainder of the Scots could hardly have been defended, or kept together; and not only so, but he confounded the power of the enemy, (though assisted with foreign aids, and big with a late triumphant victory,) in many sharp, yet prosperous fights; and, when he had thus weakened them, he drove them out of Britain, and took from their king the royal name, which to this day he could never recover again. Though these were great achievements, yet they were not the greatest he performed: for, as he enlarged his kingdom, and made it double of what it was before; so he governed it in such a manner, both by making new laws, and also by reviving the old ones, that neither licentiousness, the child of war, nor pride, the product of victory, nor any footsteps of those evils, which are wont to accompany luxury and ease, did appear during his life. Nay, the affairs of Scotland seemed to be supported for many years after by his laws, called by posterity the Macalpin laws, as much as they were by arms. But to let these things pass; I shall proceed to relate his noble acts as I have begun. Kennethus having driven out the Picts, distributed their lands amongst his soldiers, according to each man's valour and merit; who, out of an ambition, gave many places and countries new names, and abrogated the old ones. He parted Horestia betwixt two brothers, Æneas and Mern; one part

of which, in old Scotch, is yet called *Æneia*, (they who more affect the English speech, call it *Angus*,) the other *Mern*. The country adjoining, from *Tay* to the *Forth*, was called by the ancients, *Ross*, *i. e.* a peninsula; there are some signs of the name yet remaining, as *Culross*, a town which is, as it were, the back or hinder part of *Ross*; and *Kinross*, which signifies the head of *Ross*. Now, at this day, all that country is called *Fife*, from an eminent person called *Fifus*, whose surname, they say, was *Duffus*; *Barodunum* a town in *Lothian*, or, as some call it, *Dunbar*, was so called (as it is thought) from a great man, named *Bar*. *Lothian* had its name, not long ago, from *Lothus* king of the *Picts*. *Cunningham* is wholly a Danish word, used, as I think, by the Danes after the death of *Kennethus*, who possessed that country for some years, having driven the Scots beyond the wall of *Severus*; for *Cunningham* signifies in the Danish language, the king's house or palace. It is also probable, that *Merch* was so called by the Danes, because it fixed the limits between both kingdoms. As for *Edinburgh*, either by the gross ignorance, or perverse ill-will of some, it is sometimes called *Vallis dolorosa*, *i. e.* the dolesome valley, and sometimes *Castrum puellarum*, Maiden castle; the name in itself is not very obscure, though it is made so by ill management. For they borrowed those names from French romances, which were devised within the space of three hundred years last past. This is certain, that the ancient Scots called it *Dunedinum*; the latter *Edinburgum*; in which they follow their country custom in imposing of names; whereas that castle, in a middle appellation between both, I think may be better named *Edinum*. But enough in this place concerning the old and new names of the countries, of which I have spoken more largely before. To return then to *Kennethus*; having enlarged his kingdom, as I said before, and settled wholesome laws for the good administration of the government; he endeavoured farther to confirm his royal authority by mean and trivial things, even bordering upon superstition itself. There was a marble stone, which *Simon Breccus* is reported to have brought into Ireland out of Spain, which *Fergus*, the son of *Ferchard*, is also said to have brought over into Scottish Albion, and to have placed it in *Argyle*. This stone *Kennethus* removed out of *Argyle* to *Scoon*, by the river *Tay*, and placed it there, inclosed in a chair of wood. The kings of Scotland were wont to receive both the kingly name and the royal robes, sitting in that chair, till the days of *Edward I.* king of England, of whom in his place. *Kennethus* translated the episcopal see, which the *Picts* had placed at *Abernethy*, to *Fanum Reguli*, which the after-ages called *St Andrew's*. But the ancient Scots bishops, being chosen out of monasteries; not then contending for place or honour, but for sanctity and learning, performed their functions every where occasionally as opportunity offered, without envy or emulation; no certain dioceses being allotted to them, in regard the ecclesiastical function was not yet made a post of gain and

worldly lucre. After this sort, Kennethus reigned twenty years. In the beginning of his fifth year he overthrew the Picts, as the Black Book of Paisley hath it. The other sixteen years, after he had destroyed the government of the Picts, he lived in great tranquillity, having maintained peace at home, by reason of his just government; and peace abroad, by the power of his arms. He enlarged his dominions from the Orcades to the wall of Adrian in the year of our Lord 854.

DONALDUS V. *the seventieth king.*

DONALDUS, his brother, was chosen king next, who quite altered the whole public discipline, together with his own demeanour. For whereas, in the lifetime of Alpinus, he made a shew of temperance, and, by that means, had obtained the love of the better sort, when his brother was dead, as if he had been freed from all fear and restraint, he gave himself up wholly to pleasure. And as if there had been no danger from any enemy without, he neglected all military study, and kept almost none about him but hunters, hawkers, and inventors of new pleasures. Upon these he spent the public revenue. The younger sort, who were prone to pleasures, extolled the king to the skies, as a noble and generous prince; and scoffed at the parsimony of former times, as rude and illiberal. The ancient counsellors, seeing all things likely to run to ruin in a very short time, came to the king, and put him in mind of his duty; of his present evil ways and miscarriages; and of the dangers impending upon him. He nevertheless persisted in his slothful kind of life, which gave opportunity to the remainders of the Picts (as if an hopeful alarm had been given them, even from the very bottom of despair) to address themselves to Osbreth and Ella, two of the most potent and prevalent kings of the English, (for then England was divided into many kingdoms.) They bewailed their misfortune to them, and craved earnestly their assistance, promising that they, and all their posterity, would become feudatories to the English, in case they obtained the victory over the Scots, which they prejudged would be an easy one, by reason of the slothful nature of Donald. The English were easily persuaded, and having settled things at home, they led out their army into Merch, from whence they sent heralds to Donaldus, requiring that the lands which the Scots had forcibly taken away from the Picts, their friends and allies, might be restored; which, unless he would do, they would not neglect their old confederates, who had newly solicited their assistance. Donaldus, by the advice of the estates, which, in this time of imminent danger, he had (though unwillingly) convened, levied an army, and met with the enemy at Jedd, a river of Teviotdale, where he joined battle, and overthrew Osbreth, forcing him to fly to the next mountains: from thence he marched on by Tweed to the sea side, recovered Berwick, which had been taken by the English, and was again deserted by them, up-

on the ill news of the success of the battle, where he took all the ships riding in the mouth of the river, and seized upon all the enemy's provisions there. He got there an opportunity to renew his interrupted pleasures; and, as if his enemies had been wholly overthrown, he indulged himself in all kind of voluptuousness. The English; who in the last fight were rather scattered than subdued, understanding by their spies the carelessness and security of the Scots, gathered together what force they could out of the neighbourhood, and set upon the Scots by night, who were drowned in wine, and fast asleep, making a great slaughter amongst them; but they took the king, who was between sleeping and waking, prisoner. From thence they followed the course of their victory, and to make their revenge more complete, they divided their army into two parts, and so marched into the enemy's country; part of them, when they came to the Forth, got vessels, and endeavoured to pass over by water into Fife, but a great number of them were shipwrecked and drowned; and the rest, by the violence of the storm, were forced back to the shore where they embarked; from whence, marching to Stirling, and joining with the rest of their army, they pass over the Forth on a bridge. The Scots, after their flight, gathered themselves into a body thereabouts, having the bare show, rather than the strength, of an army, and sent ambassadors to the English for peace; which they did not refuse, because their strength was weakened by the unsuccessful battle of Jedd, and also by the late shipwreck. The English propounded hard conditions, yet such as the present state of affairs made to seem tolerable. As that, the Scots should yield up all the land, which was within the wall of Severus: That their bounds should be beneath Stirling, the Forth; beneath Dumbarton, the Clyde; and between the two rivers, the wall of Severus. Amidst such hard terms of peace, yet this happened, as welcome as it was unexpected, to the Scots, that no mention was made concerning the reduction of the Picts. For the English and Britons divided the lands, surrendered up, betwixt them; the river being a boundary betwixt them both. There are some who think the money yet called Sterling was then coined there. The lands being thus divided, the Picts, who thought to recover their own, being eluded of their hopes, passed over to the Cimbrians and Scandinavians, *i. e.* (as we moderns speak) to Denmark and Norway. Those few of them that staid in England, were all put to death, upon pretence that they would attempt innovations by their soliciting of foreign aids. Donaldus, after he had made peace, upon his return was honourably received, partly out of respect to his ancestors, and partly in hopes of his repentance and amendment. But he persevering in his wonted slothfulness, the nobles fearing that so sluggish a person, who would neither hearken to the counsels of his friends, nor be reclaimed by his own calamities, would lose that part of the kingdom which remained, confined him to a prison; where, either out of grief and anguish of heart, as having his plea-

sure restrained; or out of fear of being made a public spectacle of scorn, he laid violent hands on himself, in the sixth year of his reign. Others report, that this Donaldus performed many noble exploits, both at home and abroad; and that he died a natural death at Scoon, in the year of our Lord 858.

CONSTANTINUS II. *the seventy-first king.*

CONSTANTINUS, the son of Kennethus, was crowned after him, at Scoon; he was a prince of a great spirit, and highly valiant. He was desirous to wipe away the ignominy received under Donaldus, and to enlarge his kingdom to the bounds his father had left; but he was otherwise advised by his nobles, because the greatest part of the soldiery were slain under Donaldus; and the remainder were grown so corrupt, that it was not fit to put arms into their hands. This being so, the king first bent his care to amend the public discipline; and accordingly he reduced the order of priests to their ancient parsimony, by severe laws, in regard they had left off preaching, and had given themselves up to luxury, hunting, hawking, and to courtly pomp. He caused the young soldiers who were grown effeminate with voluptuousness and ease, to lie on the ground, and to eat but once a-day. Drunkards were punished with death. He forbid all sports, but those which served to make the body hardy, and inure the mind to war. By these laws, the soldiery of the kingdom were brought to a better pass; when presently a certain islander, named Evenus, whom the king himself had made governor of Lochaber, a man of an unquiet spirit, and ambitious of dominion, rose up in arms; he, knowing that the military youth could not well stomach the severity of these new laws, first gathered together a small number, and then a greater, complaining of the present state of things. And when he found his discourse was acceptable to them; he easily persuaded them to conspire about the taking off of Constantine. But being more active than cautious in gathering strength to their faction, they were betrayed by some of their own confederates, and slain, before they knew any forces were coming against them. Evenus, the head of the conspiracy, was hanged. About this time it was, that the Danes, then the most potent and flourishing nation amongst the Germans, were solicited by the Picts against the Scots, and also by one Buernus, (or as others write, Verna, whose wife had been ravished by Osbreth), which they, being overstocked with young people at home, easily assented to, and so they came over in numerous transports, and with a great navy, into Britain. Their first descent was in Fife; there they slew all they met, without distinction, out of hatred to the Christian religion; and dividing their army, they spoiled the country two several ways. Constantine made head against them, and first he set upon that brigade which Hobba, brother to the Danish king, commanded; which being hindered from joining the other body of troops, by the sudden

swelling of the river Leven, were there easily overcome and slain, except a few of his men who could swim over the river, and they fled to their other commander, called Humber.. Constantine pursued them, and marched as if he went to a prey, not to a battle, and overtook them not far from the town of Crail, but not before they had well fortified their camp. For the Danes, being very provident after their late unhappy fight, had made a kind of defensive fortification upon some small winding rocks near the shore, by heaping up a parcel of stones together, which lay thereabouts. In that posture Constantine assaulted them; where, by reason of the incommodiousness of the place, and the despair of the Danes, he paid dear for his rashness; for he lost a great part of his army; he himself was taken prisoner, dragged into a little cave hard by, and there slain. There are some monuments of this fight remaining to this day, as the cave, the circumference of their camp, which was not cut out regularly, or by equal spaces, but turning and winding according to the bending of the rocks. Some lay the blame of this unlucky accident upon the Picts, who being admitted into Constantine's fealty and army, were the first that ran away, and drew the greatest part of the army after them. The Danes gathered up the spoils, and departed to their ships. The king's body was found the day after, and carried to the sepulchres of his ancestors, in the island of Icolmkill. He possessed the kingdom sixteen years, and died in the year of our Lord 874.

ETHUS, *the seventy-second king.*

His brother, Ethus, succeeded him; from the swiftness of his feet, surnamed Alipes; he was elected king upon no higher or other account, but because he gathered together the relics of the army, which were scattered by the Danes. Amongst the prodigies of his time, they reckon those sea fishes then appearing, which are seldom seen, and after long intervals of time, but they never appear but in shoals, nor without some unlucky presage. The common people call them *Monachi-marini*, *i. e.* sea-monks; others give them the name of *Bassineti*, *i. e.* hooded, or helmeted fish. Ethus, quite unmindful both of his brother and of his ancestors, giving himself up to all manner of vices, and drawing the young soldiers, who were by nature very easily seduced, along with him, was taken prisoner by a combination of the nobles; and, after all the flagitious acts of his life had been declared to the people, in a long speech, he was forced to abjure the government in the second year of his reign. Three days after, he died in prison for grief. That which chiefly offended the men of military genius, was his slothful inactivity, because when the Danes were at war with the English, and many bloody battles had been fought between them, yet he never bethought himself of the recovering the country he had lost, nor would he suffer himself to be so much as put in mind of it by others. Some write that he was not forced to relinquish his king-

dom, but that he was wounded in a combat by Gregorius, who was desirous of getting the reins of the empire into his own hands, and that he died two months after, in the year of our Lord 875.

GREGORIUS, *the seventy-third king.*

GREGORIUS, the son of Dongallus, was set up king in his stead; a person of a truly royal spirit, in whom no virtue was wanting that was requisite to complete a monarch. First, he reconciled all those to him who were against him when he endeavoured to gain the throne; and then he proceeded to compose the discords of the nobles among themselves; he so tempered the severities of his government with affability, that he got the command of his subjects more by love than by fear: he restored the old laws concerning the immunity of the ministers of the church (who were almost in the nature of slaves under the Picts,) or else he made new, to the same purpose. His first expedition was into Fife against the Picts, left there by the Danes, whilst they were employing their arms against the English. He drove them not out of Fife only, but out of Lothian and Merch too. The Danes, when he came to Berwick, fearing, if they should have any misfortune, the English would be upon their backs too, durst not join in a field-fight with Gregory; but sent part of their forces over the river into Northumberland, commanding them to join with a small brigade of their countrymen, who had gathered together, and were newly landed there; the rest of them entered Berwick to strengthen that garrison. But the English, who were, but unwillingly, under the command of the Danes, (as being men of a different religion from them,) gave admission to the Scots in the night-time, by which means all the Danes were put to the sword. From thence Gregory marched into Northumberland, and fought a prosperous battle against Hardnute, where he made so great a slaughter of them, that their numbers, which were lately formidable to all Britain, were mightily diminished, partly by Gregory of Scotland, and partly by Alfred of England. Gregory took in all Northumberland, and gave free leave to those English that had a mind, to depart; and he very courteously distributed lands among the rest who chose to remain there. The greatest part of the English staid behind; partly out of love to their native soil, partly by reason of the king's bounty to them, and partly also for fear of their enemies. For, as they had, for several years then past, entered into several cruel engagements with the Danes, the victory being many times uncertain, many of the English chose rather to be under the dominion of the Scots, who, though formerly enemies, were yet Christians, than either to fall into the power of the bloody Danes, or to hope for uncertain aids from their own countrymen; especially since things were in such a general confusion over all Britain, that the English knew not which party to succour first. After Gregory had chastised the Danes, to so smart a degree, that he expected no more trouble from them, he turned his

arms upon the Britons, who as yet held some of the Scottish dominions; but he made peace with them too, upon their restoring the said lands, and promising to assist him against the Danes, if they should return; and upon that he disbanded his army. But the Britons, after their return home, repented of the peace they had made; and entering Scotland again in a hostile manner, they were driving away a great booty; but Gregory met them at Lochmaben, and after a bloody fight overthrew them, and Constantine their king fell in the field. The Britons having received this fruit of their ill counsel, made Herbert, the brother of Constantine, king; and then began to think in what a dangerous case they were, having both the Scots and Danes their enemies; and their alliance with the English seldom long-lived. Upon this consideration, they sent ambassadors to the Scots for peace, who would not hearken to any such thing, unless Cumberland and Westmoreland were restored to them, which was accordingly done, and the peace made on those conditions. About the same time, there came also ambassadors from Alured of England, partly to congratulate the victory over the Danes, which ought (said they) to be justly acceptable to all Christians; and partly to enter into a new league against all the enemies of the Christian faith. Peace was concluded on these conditions: "That they should oppose foreign enemies with their joint forces, if they made a descent on the borders of either people; and that the Scots should quietly enjoy for ever the land which they had got from the Danes." Peace being thus obtained by arms on every side, and a league made and established, word was brought Gregory upon his return, that the Irish had made an irruption into Galloway. The cause of the war was pretended to be, because the men of Galloway had, in a hostile manner, seized upon, and plundered some galleys driven on their coasts, belonging to the inhabitants of Dublin, a city of Ireland. The Irish hearing of Gregory's coming, in great consternation retired presently with their prey to their ships; and Gregory, with a good navy and strong army, as soon as he could with conveniency, transported himself into Ireland also. Duncan, or Donatus, or rather Dunachus, was at that time their king; but being under age, Brienus and Cornelius, two of the most powerful of the nobility next to him, had divided the whole land into two factions. But patching up a truce at the arrival of a foreign enemy, they pitched and fortified their camps apart, near the river Bann, a place which seemed convenient enough for that purpose. Their end in so doing was, to take off the edge of Gregory's valour by delay, and to force him to withdraw his army from a foreign harassed country, for want of provision. Gregory smelled out their design; and therefore, very secretly in the night, he sent part of his army to seize upon a hill, which was, as it were, over Brienus' head. The day after, when the battle was joined, in the heat of the fight, they threw down mighty stones into his camp, which crushed many of his men to pieces, and so ter-

rified the rest, that their ranks were broken, and they fled away in great disorder and confusion. Cornelius hearing of the event of this fight, withdrew his army, without striking a blow, into places of greater safety. Brienus was slain in his camp; the rest had as much quarter given them as possible, by Gregory's command. He then marched over the country without any depopulation at all, which lenity occasioned many rather to submit themselves to the mercy of the king, than to try it out by force. The fortified towns were strengthened with garrisons. Gregory reduced Dundalk and Drogheda, two strong places, made so both by art and nature; and then determined to march directly to Dublin. But hearing that Cornelius, general of all the Irish forces, was coming against him with a great army, he turned aside, fought with him, and overthrew him, following the chace as far as Dublin, which he besieged. But there was not provision enough in the city for so many people as had fled thither, so that in a short time it was surrendered to him by Cormachus, the bishop of the city. Gregory, at his entrance into it, did no prejudice at all to any of the inhabitants, but visited king Duncan, his kinsman, and protested that he came not thither out of an ambitious desire to take away the kingdom from him, or to amass up riches for himself, but only to revenge the injuries he had received. Accordingly he committed the care of the young king to such of his old counsellors as he judged most faithful to him; and himself bore the name of his tutor or guardian, till he came to be of age: he also put garrisons into the forts, and exacted an oath from the nobility, that they should admit neither English, Dane, nor Briton into the island, without his permission: he appointed judges in convenient places, who were to judge betwixt man and man in matters of controversy, according to the laws of the country; and receiving sixty hostages for the performance of those conditions, he returned home in triumph. The fame of his justice made the peace firmer for the future, than any terror of arms could have done. Having thus managed matters both at home and abroad, he departed this life in the eighteenth year of his reign, being no less eminent for his justice and temperance, than for his valour and magnanimity. So that he was justly surnamed by his countrymen, Gregory the Great. He died in the year of our Lord 892.

DONALDUS VI. *the seventy-fourth king.*

DONALD, the sixth of that name, the son of Constantine II. was made king next after Gregory, having been recommended by his great predecessor, before his death, to the nobility. He deceived not the opinion which men had conceived of him, *i. e.* that he was a very prudent prince; for he so maintained peace, as to be always prepared for war. And when for a long time he had no enemy to encounter with, yet he took care that the soldiery should not grow too luxurious, or by being corrupted by ease and rest, grow inclinable to run, as it had often happened, into all manner of evil

practices. When a new army of Danes drew near to the coasts of Northumberland, and lay at anchor there for some days, without prejudising any body, Donaldus gathered an army together, and being watchful of all opportunities, went to guard that province. But hearing that the Danes had made a descent upon the country of the English, he sent aid to king Alured, who fought a bloody battle with the Danes. Yet, though he got the victory, he was content to admit them into part of his dominions, provided they would turn Christians. Peace was made on those terms, the army disbanded, and a new home-bred commotion employed Donaldus at his return. There happened so great a feud betwixt the Rossians and the Merch men, caused by some small robberies at first, that more were slain by occasional combats, than if they had met in a pitched battle. Donald marched thither, and having slain the heads of the factions, restored peace to the rest. Johannes Fordonus, a Scottish chronologer, says, that in this expedition, he died at Forres, not without the suspicion of being poisoned; but Boetius affirms, that he returned to Northumberland, to see what became of the peace he had made with the Danes, of whom he was always suspicious; and that he died there, after he had reigned eleven years. His memory was precious both to rich and poor. He died in the year of our Lord 903.

CONSTANTINE III. *the seventy-fifth king.*

CONSTANTINE III. the son of Ethus, was substituted king in his room; a man of no ill disposition, yet could he not be truly said to be firmly and constantly good. The Danes, who could by no promises, by no persuasions whatsoever, incline Gregory and Donald, the two last kings of the Scots, to take up arms against the English, who were then Christians, easily wrought upon Constantine by gifts, and by the vain hope of enlarging his dominions, to make a league with them, which lasted scarce two years; but the Danes deserting the Scots, struck up a league with the English. This league had scarce continued four years, before Edward of England gathered an army speedily together, and spoiled the country of the Danes; by which they were reduced to such straits, that they were forced to return to the Scots, whom they had lately deserted, to whom they swore most religiously, that they would for ever after observe the amity most inviolably betwixt them. This second league is reported to have been entered into with great ceremony, in the tenth year of Constantine's reign. He gave, the same year, Cumberland to Malcolm, son of the last king, which was an honourable omen to him, that the next reign should be his own. And afterwards the same custom was observed by some succeeding kings, to the manifest disannulling of the old way of convening the estates, whose free suffrages ought not to have been thus abridged; but this was like the designation of the consuls by the Cæsars, which put an end to the Roman liberty. A war being now com-

menced between Edward, the son of Alured, and the Danes; Constantine sent aids to the Danes, under the conduct of Malcolm. He joined his army with the Danes, and being superior in number, they harassed the adjoining countries of the English, and made great devastation wheresoever they came; to the end that they might force the English, who had a far less numerous army, to fight: nay, they were so arrogantly confident of their numbers, that they thought their enemy would never so much as look them in the face; so that now, as secure of the victory, they began to talk of dividing the spoil. But, "as prosperity doth blind the eyes of the wise, so adversity, and the foresight of danger, is a good school-master, even to the weaker side;" what the English wanted in strength, they supplied with art, skill, and stratagem. Their army was well seconded with reserves, and so they began the fight; the first ranks, being commanded so to do, gave ground, and, under the pretence of being discomfitted, made a feint as if they were flying, that so, their enemies pursuing them in disorder, they might again return upon them in that straggling posture: Athelstan, the base-born son of Edward, was general of all the English forces, as our writers affirm, and Grafton also says the same thing. They make this Athelstan guilty of parricide, in killing his father, and his two brothers, Edred and Edwin, whose right it was immediately to succeed their father in the kingdom: fame increases the suspicion, that Edward was violently put to death, because it attributes to him the title of a martyr. For that fact Athelstan being hated, to recover the favour of the people, he resolved upon some eminent enterprize, and accordingly determined, at last, to expiate the blood of his kindred, by shedding that of his enemies: in pursuance of this resolution, when he had fought stoutly for a time, he gave ground by little and little; but afterwards retreated with more precipitation, and in greater fear and confusion, as if he intended absolutely to run away. The Danes and Scots supposing themselves conquerors, were unwilling to make any brisk pursuit, lest the cowardliest of the soldiers should enjoy all the booty, and therefore they returned to plunder the camp. Upon that, Athelstan gave a signal, and the English returning to their colours, set upon them as they were scattered and laden with spoil, and killed them like dogs. The greatest part of the Scottish nobility was lost in this fight, who chose rather to die on the spot, than to undergo the ignominy of deserting their companions of the war. Malcolm being much wounded, was carried off the field by his own men, and sent the doleful tidings of the loss of his army to king Constantine: neither was the face of things more pleasant amongst the Danes. Athelstan, during this astonishment of his enemies, took Cumberland and Westmoreland from the Scots, and Northumberland from the Danes. Constantine having not force enough either to wage war, or to carry on matters in peace, called a convention of the estates at Abernethy, and willingly resigned the kingdom, and betook him-

self to the Culdee worshippers of God, (for so the monks of that age were called,) as to a sanctuary, amongst whom he spent the remaining five years of his life at St Andrew's, in the year of Christ 943, and the fortieth year from the beginning of his reign. Here the English writers, who are profuse in their own praises, do affirm, that Athelstan was the sole monarch of all Britain, and that the rest, who had the name of kings in Albium, were but precariously so, and his feudataries only, taking an oath of fidelity to him, as the supreme lord. And they introduce many ignoble English authors as favourers of that opinion; and to procure them a greater credit, they add also Marianus Scotus, who was indeed an illustrious writer. But here I desire the reader to take notice, that there is not the least mention of any such thing in that edition of Marianus, which was printed in Germany; but if they have another Marianus different from him who is publicly read and interpolated, or forged by themselves, let them produce him if they can. Besides, they being men generally unlearned, do not in some places sufficiently understand their own writers, neither do they take notice that Bede, William of Malmsbury, and Geoffry of Monmouth, do commonly call that part Britain over which the Britons ruled, *i. e.* that within the wall of Adrian; or, when they stretched their dominions farthest, within the wall of Severus; so that the Scots and Picts are oftentimes reckoned by them to be out of Britain, and are accounted as transmarine people. And, therefore, when they read that the English some time reigned over all Britain, they understand the authors so, as if they included Albium, or Albion; whereas they do often circumscribe Britain within narrower limits, as I have said before: but of this I have spoken more largely in another place. To return then to the affairs of Scotland.

MALCOLM I. *the seventy-sixth king.*

CONSTANTINE having retired into the cloister of the monks, Malcolm, the son of Donald, was declared king. Athelstan being dead, and his brother Edward reigning, Cumberland and Westmoreland revolted from the English, and returned to their old masters. Moreover, the Danes, who remained in Northumberland, sent for Avalassus, their countryman, one of the royal progeny, who was banished into Ireland, to make him king; Edmund foreseeing what clouds of war were gathering over his head, yielded up Cumberland and Westmoreland to Malcolm, upon this condition, that he who should next succeed in the Scottish kingdom, should take an oath to the king of England, as the lord paramount of that country. Afterwards he easily reduced the Danes, who had been afflicted with various calamities; neither did he long survive his victory. The English chose his brother Edred king after him; against whom the Danes, who possessed Northumberland, and never cordially observed any peace made with the English, rebelled; and whilst he was incumbered with other affairs at a distance, they took

from him many strong and well fortified places, particularly York; but he overcame them by the assistance of 10,000 Scots. Malcolm, returning home, gave himself wholly up to the arts of peace; and, to cure the distempers occasioned by the wars, especially luxury and lawless living, he himself usually visited all the Scots courts of judicature once in two years, and administered justice with great equity. At length, whilst he was busy in punishing robbers, and in restraining the lewd manners of the younger sort, he was slain by some conspirators of Murray-land, in the night, in the fifteenth year of his reign. The perpetrators of that villany were, with great diligence, sought after, and found out by the nobles; and, being apprehended, were put to several exquisite deaths, according to every one's share of guilt, in committing the parricide.

INDULPHUS, *the seventy-seventh king.*

INDULPHUS reigned after him, who, having settled things in peace at home, passed the next seven years in great tranquillity; but in the eighth year of his reign, the Danes taking it amiss that the alliance with the English was preferred before theirs, and that a perpetual league was made between the two kings against them, came with a navy of fifty ships into the frith of Forth, when the Scots little expected any such thing: insomuch, that they had like to have given them an universal overthrow by way of surprize. In such a sudden invasion, all were full of fear and amazement; some carried their goods into the midland country, as a place of more safety; others ran to the sea side to hinder the enemy's landing. Hago and Helricus were the two admirals of the Danish fleet; they endeavoured first to land in Lothian, and afterwards in Fife, but in vain; they then essayed to enter the frith of the river Tay, but there also they were hindered from making any descent on land; so that they coasted about the shores of Aeneia, or Angus, of Mern, Marr, and Buchan; but in all places being hindered from landing, they hoisted their sails, and went into the main ocean, as if they intended to return home. But within a few days, when all was secure, they came back again, and having gotten a convenient place in Boyn, at the mouth of the river Cullen, they there landed their men without opposition, before the country people could give any alarm of their arrival. When Indulphus heard of their landing, he marched towards them before they could well have any notice of his coming; and first he set upon the straggling plunderers, and drove them to the rest of their army, but made no great slaughter of them, because the camp of the Danes was near, to which they might make their retreat. When the armies came in sight of each other, they both drew up in battle array, and fell to it with equal force and courage: whilst they were thus fiercely fighting, Græme and Dunbar, with some troops of Lothian men, appeared on the rear of the Danes; which put them in such a consternation, that they all ran away, some to their ships, others to

unknown places, whithersoever the fear of the enemy drove them: but the greater part of them drew up in a round close body, in a woody vale, and there waited an occasion of acting with valour, or dying with the last resolution. Indulphus, as if his enemies had been wholly overcome, rode up and down with a few attendants, and casually lighting into their hands, was slain, at the beginning of the tenth year of his reign. Some say that he was killed by an arrow shot out of a ship, having put off his armour, that he might be more nimble in the pursuit, and press the more eagerly upon them, as they were going a-ship-board.

DUFFUS, the seventy-eighth king.

AFTER his death, Duffus, the son of Malcolm obtained the kingdom; in the beginning of his reign, he made Culenus, son of king Indulphus, governor of Cumberland, and sent him into the *Æbudæ*, which were then in war and disorder, to restrain the frequent robberies committed there. For the young soldiers of the nobility, having got a great many companions about them, made the common people tributary to them, imposing a pecuniary fine on every family, besides free quarter: and yet Culenus dealt not more harshly with them, than with the very governors themselves of the island, who ought to have restrained such outrages. He commanded that, for the future, they, by whose negligence these disorders should happen, should make satisfaction to the commonalty, and also pay a fine to the king. This injunction struck such a terror into these idle paltry fellows, that many of them went over into Ireland, and there got their living by their daily labour. As this matter was acceptable to the commons, so it was as offensive to the noble allies of those who were banished, and to many of the younger sort, who were in love with that idle kind of life. These men, in all their meetings and assemblies, did first secretly, and afterwards in the presence of a multitude of such as applauded them, begin openly to revile their king; alleging, that he despised the nobility, and was drawn away and seduced by the counsel of sorry priests: that he degraded and put men of gentle extraction to servile offices: that he advanced the most abject of the people to the highest honours: that, in fine, he made such medleys, as to turn every thing upside down. They added farther, that if things should continue at that pass, either the nobility must transport themselves into other countries; or else must make them a new king, who might govern the people by those ancient laws, by which the kingdom had arrived to that height of grandeur from such a small beginning. Amidst these confusions, the king was seized with a new and unusual disease, and no evident cause of it appearing, when all remedies had been tried in vain, a rumour was spread abroad, by whom I know not, that he was bewitched: the suspicion of this witchcraft arose either from some indication of his disease, or else because his body wasted and pined away by continual sweat-

ing, and his strength was so much decayed, that the physicians, who were sent for far and near, not knowing what to apply for his relief; when no common causes of the disease discovering themselves, they even laid it to the charge of a secret one. And whilst all were intent on the king's malady, at last news was brought, that nightly assemblies and conspiracies were made against him at Forres, a town in Murray: the report was taken for truth, there being nothing to contradict it; therefore some faithful messengers were sent to Donald, governor of the castle, in whom the king confided much, even in his greatest affairs, to find out the truth of the matter. He, from a discovery made by a certain harlot, whose mother was noted for a witch, detected the whole conspiracy. For the young girl having blabbed out, a few days before, some words concerning the sickness and death of the king; being apprehended and brought to the rack to be tortured; at the very first sight of it, she presently declared what was designed against the life of the king. Upon this some soldiers were sent, who found the maid's mother, and some other gossips, roasting the king's picture, made in wax, by a soft fire; their design was, that as the wax did leisurely melt, so the king, being dissolved into a sweat, should pine away by degrees; and, when the wax was quite consumed, then, his breath failing him, he should presently die. When this picture of wax was broken, and the witches punished, in the same month (as some say) the king was freed from his disease. These things I deliver as I have heard them from our ancestors; what to think of this sort of witchcraft, I leave to the judgment of the reader, only minding him, that this story was not found amongst our ancient records. Amidst these things, the fear of the king being laid aside, because they hoped he would shortly die, many robberies and murders were committed every where. Duffus, having recovered his strength, pursued the robbers through Murray, Ross, and Caithness, and killed many of them at several skirmishes, as occasion would permit; but he brought the chief of them to Forres, that their punishment might be the more conspicuous in that town. There Donaldus, governor of the town and castle, petitioned the king to pardon some of his relations, who were of the gang; but, being denied, he fell into a mighty indignation, as if he had been highly wronged: his whole mind was taken up with the thoughts of revenge; for he judged that his services done to the king were so great, that he ought, let him have asked what he would, not to be denied: and besides, the wife of Donald finding that some of her kindred too were like to suffer, did further inflame the already disaffected heart of her husband, by artful and bitter expressions, moreover exciting him to contrive the king's death, affirming, that since he was governor of the castle, the king's life and death were in his power; and, having that power, he might not only perpetrate the fact, but conceal it, after it was committed. Accordingly, when the king, fatigued and wearied out with business, was sounder asleep than usual, and

his attendants, made drunk by Donald, were laid fast in a deep sleep also; he sent in assassins, of which no soul was aware, and after they had murdered the king, they carried him out so cunningly a back way, that not so much as a drop of blood appeared; and so he was buried two miles from the abbey of Kinloss, under a little bridge, in a dark place, having the green turf laid over him so, that there might be no sign of any ground which was digged up. This seems a more likely story to me, than what others write, that the course of the river being turned, his body was cast into a hole at the bottom; but when the waters were returned again to their own channel, then his grave, such as it was, was covered; besides, the executioners of that bloody fact were sent out of the way by Donald, because there is an opinion, received from our ancestors, which as yet obtains amongst the vulgar, "That blood will issue from a dead body many days after the party's being murdered, if the murderer be present, just as if the fact had been but newly committed." The day after, when the report was spread abroad that the king was missing, and that his bed was all sprinkled over with blood; Donald, as if he had been surprised at the atrocity of the fact, flies into the king's bed-chamber, and as if he had been mad with anger and revenge, he slew the officers appointed to attend him, after that, he presently made diligent inquiry every where, if any discovery of the dead body could be made. The rest being amazed at the heinous villany, and afraid too of their own lives, returned every one to his own house. Thus this good king was most inhumanly and impiously murdered in the flower of his age, after he had reigned four years and six months; and, as soon as they conveniently could, the estates assembled to create a new king.

CULENUS, *the seventy-ninth king.*

CULENUS the son of Indulphus, being made king by the assembly of the estates, the next thing that was done, was to inquire into the murder of king Duffus; and they made the more haste to examine that affair, because of some prodigies that had happened, one of which seemed particularly to regard the murder. An hawk was slain, trussed by an owl, and his throat cut by him. The other prodigy was also referred to the same thing, by the interpretation of the vulgar. For six whole months after the murder was committed, extraordinary fires appeared in the heavens; the air was agitated with extraordinary winds; nay, the heavens were so coloured and defaced with clouds, that neither sun nor moon could be seen in Scotland all that time. This made all mankind intent upon revenging the death of the good king; and to that purpose, Culenus went into Murray, hoping to find some surer discoveries of the murder upon the spot where it was committed. Donald hearing of his coming, and conscious to himself of his nefarious cruelty and parricide, of which also his over-curious, and

seemingly wild inquisitiveness, made in search after the authors thereof, rendered him still more suspected, procured a ship at the mouth of the river Spey, where, with some others, he embarked, unknown even to his wife and children. This he did out of fear, lest the truth should have been extorted from him by the rack. His hasty flight, his dejected countenance (as it was observed) his few attendants, his trembling at his entrance into the ship, which was but casually riding there, without any preparation for his voyage, raised so great a suspicion of him in the minds of all who were present, that they forbore not to vent all contumelies against him, calling him an impious, sacrilegious fellow, and a parricide, and what other black terms of reproach their inflamed anger could suggest. They added also, that though he had prevented the coming of the king, yet he could never avoid the vindictive providence, and the avenging judgment of Almighty God. In a word, they pursued him with all the execrations which the highest indignation could excite in minds thoroughly provoked, even till the ship was quite out of sight. When Culenus heard of his hasty flight, he marched to the castle of Forres with all speed, where he apprehended the wife of Donaldus, and his three children; and, by shewing them the rack, compelled them to discover the whole series of the conspiracy; as also how, by whom, and where the body was buried; and that she herself was not only privy to the murder, nor merely accessory to it, but the person who persuaded her husband to the bloody deed. When the people heard this (for she was publicly tried) the magistrates could hardly keep them from tearing her to pieces. The day after, Donaldus having been tossed some days at sea, was shipwrecked and cast ashore, and being brought to the king, he and all his underwent the punishments they so richly deserved. They who brought him to the king were liberally rewarded; his castle was burnt, and all that were in it were killed upon the spot. The body of Duffus was honourably interred amongst his ancestors. As these things very highly ingratiated Culenus to those who were good, so the remaining part of his life accumulated so much odium upon him, as never any king before him ever laboured under; for, whether induced by his own nature, or urged for fear of danger (as he would have it thought) he suffered the severity of the discipline, used under Indulphus and Duffus, to grow cold and remiss; and permitted the younger tribe, being given up to unseasonable debauchery and foreign delights, to run into those licentious practices which were forbid by the laws, till at last they broke forth into open violence and robbery. And when he saw the greatest part of the young nobility addicted to these vices, he plunged himself in the like wicked courses; so that he abstained not from corrupting noble matrons, and even debauching religious nuns (which in that age, on the account of their special care to preserve their chastity, were had in great veneration) no, nor from his own sisters, or daughters neither; nay, he kept whole coreys of other

harlots, hired by his panders, and kept them too in his own court, and turned his palace into stews. When he was admonished and put in mind of these things, by persons of prudence and wisdom, on the behalf of the young nobility he answered, that something was to be allowed to their age; and as for himself, though he confessed that some things were amiss, yet he was forced out of fear to tolerate them: for I remember, said he, what great calamity the unseasonable severity of the former king brought, not only on himself, but on the whole kingdom: that the nobility were the stay and prop of the throne: that it was not true, that the martial spirits of men were always broken by this free kind of life, or made low and abject; nor, that the thoughts of arms were so neglected by them in peace, as if they expected that there would never more be a return of war. It is true (proceeded he) the luxury of youthful age is so far to be restrained, that it may not proceed too far, for fear the good seed of ingenuity be choked (as it were) in the very bud, and lost in too much licentiousness; yet it is not wholly to be abridged, or taken away, lest the seeds of virtue should suffer in common with the vices, and be both plucked up together. When the nobles heard this plea, which he urged in his own defence, and perceived they could do no good with him, by their persuasions, but that they should more probably create trouble to themselves, if they used the same liberty of speech to him in their rejoinders, they withdrew from court, fearing lest they should be compelled to be witnesses; nay, and not only that, but even partakers of these wicked practices, the very sight and hearing of which they detested and abhorred. The king, freed from such troublesome imposers, gave himself wholly up to wine and women. He proposed rewards to those who could invent any new kind of pleasure, though never so filthy, never so detestable; his whole court rung both night and day with lewd songs of debauchees, and the huzzas of drunkards. Thus intemperance and impudence were as much applauded by him, as modesty and chastity are wont to be esteemed by good and pious princes. These vices which, though allowed or connived at by law, in other men are, notwithstanding the impunity, acted by them in secret, were here openly committed without shame. The young nobility, thus grown effeminate with pleasure, and a multitude of parasites and flatterers with them, extol the king to the skies, as if he were the very first of their kings, who had joined splendor and magnificence with authority; as tempering the severity of his government with lenity, and easing the burdens of care and labour with some relaxation of spirits, and allowance of delight.

Now, to continue these luxuriant courses, there was need of great expence, and therefore the wealthier sort were fined upon feigned accusations; and the plebeians were suffered to be made a perfect prey, and harassed with all sorts of servile offices. He that was not pleased with the present state of things, was accounted no better than a rustic clown, or a mere savage; or, if he seemed to be of

an higher spirit than ordinary, he was presently accused by a pack of informers, as if he studied innovation in the state. After three years spent in this flagitious licence; when men were silent, out of fear or sloth, luxury began to grow its own punishment: for when the king's strength was exhausted by immoderate venereal lust, and his body had contracted deformity by the excesses of riotous luxurious feasts, those diseases followed which are the usual and almost the constant companions of such vices; so that there only remained a rotten carcase, fit for nothing but to bear the punishment of its former mispent time. The king thus disabled for all the duties and functions of life, the strength both of his body and mind being enervated and weakened by intemperance; and his courtiers also following the same practices, some audacious fellows, being encouraged by hopes of prey and impunity, committed public robberies and murders, regarding neither the plebeians, as being men of poor servile spirits; nor the courtiers, as persons enfeebled by all kinds of debauchery.

The founder of the nobility, finding themselves surrounded with these manifold mischiefs, and now at the very brink of destruction, called an assembly of the estates at Scoon. The king also was desired to be present, that he might consult in common with the rest, in such a dangerous juncture of affairs, for the public safety. He, inwardly struck at this summons, and awakened, as it were, from his drowsy sloth, began to advise with his confederates, what a man, in such straits, had best to do? And, though he knew not either how to resist, or how to fly, and his mind presaged no good to him; yet he resolved to go to the assembly. And, as miserable men are wont to flatter themselves in adversity, so he did not altogether despair, that he either out of pity, or out of respect to his father's memory, should procure some favour, and not be suddenly hurled down from so high a dignity, to the lowest abyss of misery and wretchedness. In his journey to Scoon, having a train large enough, but unarmed and dispirited, about him, he was slain at a neighbouring village called Methven, by the thane, or sheriff of that country, for having ravished his daughter. When his death came to be publicly known, though all men were heartily pleased at being got free from such a monster, with less trouble than they supposed they should, yet the perpetration of the fact by Rohardus, or Radardus, the thane, was very much disliked by all people. He reigned, as the former king did, four years and six months.

KENNETHUS III. *the eightieth king.*

KENNETHUS, the brother of Duffus, and third of that name, succeeded Culenus; he being contrary to the foregoing king, in his disposition, manners, and the whole course of his life, used as much diligence in reforming the lives of the younger sort, as the other had done in corrupting them; though in this, his task was the greater, that men are carried down headlong into vice, with a great

propensity of mind; but the way to virtue is by a steep ascent. And indeed this was the thing that gave the chief occasion to the opinions of some philosophers, who contended, "That man was naturally made to enjoy pleasure, but that he was haled to virtue, as it were, violently and against his own inclination." I grant both parts of this assertion are false; but perhaps the original of the mistake was from hence, that seeing there is a double power of nature in man, one of his body, the other of his mind; the vigour of the body seems to exert itself sooner and quicker than that of the mind; and, as plants do first send forth stalks, leaves and flowers, pleasant to behold, before the seed begins to be formed in its proper pod and receptacle; but when the seed ripens, all those other things fade away, and at last quite wither and decay; so do our bodies grow youthful betimes, and before the virtue of our mind (which is then but weak and tender) can exert its force; but as the members grow old by degrees, so the strength of the mind and of the judgment expands and discloses itself more and more; and therefore, as in corn, we restrain the luxuriant growth of it, either by causing it to be eaten up, or by cutting its over-rank blade down; so in young men the law supposes, that the forwardness of wit, which over-hastens to shew itself, should be restrained by careful culture, until growing reason may be able, of itself, to repress the violence of the yet infirm body. But to return to Kennethus.

He well knowing, "That the commonalty do usually comply with the humour of the prince, and diligently imitate what he loves;" first formed a good discipline in his own court and family, that so he might express in deeds what he commanded in words; and, as he propounded his own life to be an example to his house, so he would have the manners of his domestics be the patterns for other people. He first purged his court from all the vile ministers of lust and wickedness, that he might be the better justified, when he undertook to do the same in other parts of his kingdom: for this good end he resolved to travel over the whole country, to call together assemblies, for the preventing and punishing of thefts, murders, and robberies, for the encouraging of men to labour by rewards, and for exhorting them to concord by winning speeches, that so the ancient discipline might be restored. But, in the execution of this his purpose, he found greater difficulty than he imagined; for the major part of the nobility either had guilty consciences themselves, and so feared their own personal punishments; or else were allied in blood to those who were guilty: and therefore the first assembly being called at Lanark, a town of Clydesdale, they who were summoned to appear, being forewarned of their danger by their relations, some of them fled to the Æbudæ isles; others to other parts, infamously famous for robberies. The king understanding the cheat, and being not ignorant of the authors of it, dissembled his anger, and dissolved the assembly; and so passed with a few of his familiar attendants into Galloway, as if he were to perform a vow he had made to St.

Ninian. Being come thither, he consulted with those whom he judged most faithful to him, what was to be done in such a case. The result was, That a convention of all the nobility should, the next year, be held at Scoon, upon pretence of some considerable matters to be advised upon, concerning the good of the whole nation in general; that there the heads of the factions might be apprehended without tumult; and when they were imprisoned, their clans and tenants might be made to bring in the malefactors to the king. This project was judged most advisable, but it was kept secret, and communicated but to few, until the meeting at Scoon came. There the king had caused his servants to prepare soldiers, and to keep them privately in the next house to his palace, the day before the estates assembled; and at the opening of it the nobility being very numerous, came, where they were courteously treated by the king; but upon a sign given, they were immediately beset with armed men. They were all in a surprize, and overwhelmed with fear, at this sudden face of things; but the king encouraged them by a gentle speech, telling them, “ That they need not be afraid, for he intended no hurt to any good or innocent man, and those arms were not provided for their destruction but for their defence. He farther alledged, how they could not be ignorant, that all his endeavours, since he first came to the crown, tended to this, that wicked and debauched persons might be punished and the good enjoy the estates, either left them by their ancestors or acquired by their own industry; and besides, might have the quiet enjoyment of those rewards, which the king bountifully had bestowed or might bestow upon them, according to every one’s worth and merit; and that these things might easily be brought to pass, if they would lend their helping hands. The last year (said he) when I summoned some of the offenders to appear on a certain day, none at all came; that failure (as he understood by common report) was not made, so much out of confidence of their own strength, as of the assistance of some of their relations and friends; which if true, was both dangerous to the public, and a great reflection upon such families. Now was the time when they might redeem both themselves from imputations, and the kingdom from being molested by robberies. This was easy to be done, if those who were most powerful in every county, would cause the malefactors to be apprehended and brought to condign punishment; and who those malefactors were, was visible to all: but if they made excuses, and having so fair opportunity to deserve well of their country, were deficient in improving it, the king, to whose care the safety of the whole people was committed, could not be excused, if he set them at liberty, before the offenders were brought to punishment: and that this was the end why he had taken them into custody: and if any one thought his long confinement would be a trouble to him, he might thank himself, seeing it was in his own power, not only to procure his

“liberty, but also to obtain honour, reward, and the praise of all good men into the bargain.” The nobles having heard this harangue, after advice had, one with another, answered, “That they had rather assert their innocency by deeds, than words.” Accordingly they promised him their assistance, and desired him to lay aside all suspicion, if he had conceived a sinister opinion of any of them. Upon this their solemn engagement, the king told them the names of the offenders. The nobles, by their friends, made diligent search after them, and, in a short time, they were brought to the king, and punished according to law. After that, the nobles were dismissed, having received some gifts, and many large promises from the king; and the commonalty also prayed heartily for his majesty and the nobility.

Matters being thus composed at home, he faithfully observed the league made by some former kings with the English. But this great tranquillity of all Britain was soon disturbed by the Danes, who appeared with a great fleet, and anchored near the Red-promontory, or Red-head, a place in Æneia, or Angus. There they staid some days in consultation, whether they should land in that place, or direct their course towards England, as they intended at first: many of them were of opinion, that it was most advisable to make for England, an opulent country, where they might have both provision enough for their army, and also some hopes of auxiliaries and recruits, in regard that many who were derived from Danish ancestors were yet alive amongst them, and many others stood obliged to them for old courtesies and friendships; and that these, upon the first notice of their arrival, would presently flock in to them, as they had usually done in times before; but, as for the Scots, they were a fierce nation, and very hardy, as those use to be who are bred in barren and hungry soils: that they never attempted them, without some great and remarkable loss: and, in the present case, if they overcame them, it would hardly be worth their labour; but if they were overcome by them, they must endure the utmost extremity and rigour. Others were of a different opinion, alleging, that if they made their descent on the coasts of England, then they should be obliged to fight both nations at once; but if the Scots were first overcome, the war against the English would be easy, when they were bereft of foreign aids, and also terrified with the loss of their friends. They farther urged, that it was not the part of great and magnanimous spirits, to be intent on prey and booty only, they should rather call to mind the blood of their kindred and ancestors, who had been so often cruelly slain in Scotland; and that now, especially, having a great army, and being furnished also with things necessary for war, they ought to take that revenge, which might punish the savage cruelty of the Scots, according to their deserts, and might also carry the terror of the Danish name to all the neighbouring nations.

This last opinion prevailed, and they sailed with their navy to

the mouth of the river Esk, and there landed their forces. They plundered the town next to them, destroying all with fire and sword; as for the castle, they levelled it to the ground; they slaughtered all the inhabitants of the town, without distinction of age or sex. They made the like desolation too all over Angus, even to the frith of the river Tay. The news of it was brought to the king, then residing at Stirling, those who had escaped the fury of the enemy, made things worse in their relations, than they were in reality. He, by the advice of those nobles that were present, propounded a short day to such as dwelt near, to come in to him. Those who dwelt farther off, he charged by letters to hasten up with their forces; but, with such force as he had at present about him, he drew towards the enemy, both to make what discovery he could of their posture, and likewise to prevent their plundering. In a short time, a great multitude came into his camp, which was pitched at the confluence of the rivers Tay and Earn. As he was there ordering his forces, news was brought him, that the enemy had passed over the Tay, and were besieging Perth. The king concerned at the danger of a town so near him, marches directly to it. As soon as the Danes were in sight, the Scots, eager of revenge, made haste to fight them, and pitching upon a very convenient place for their army, they approached the enemy. But the Danes having seated themselves on an opposite hill, where they could not, without much hazard, be attacked; the archers and dart-men compelled them to come down, insomuch, that a most cruel fight began at the bottom of the hill; much blood was spilt, and the victory uncertain, when the Danes gave forth a word through their whole army, "That no man must ever hope to return again to their camp, unless as a conqueror." Then after a great and universal shout, they made such a brisk charge and assault upon the Scots, that they routed both their wings, and eagerly followed the pursuit. That day had been certainly most ruinous to the Scots, unless aid had been afforded by one man, sent, as it were, from heaven in so desperate a posture of affairs. There was a certain commoner, whose name was Hay, who was casually plowing in the field, over which the Scots fugitives were making the best of their way, and his two sons with him; they were able-bodied men, stout and courageous, and also great lovers of their country. The father took a yoke, the sons what instruments they could catch, and stood in a narrow pass, where the Scots flew thickest; there, first by reproaches, then by menaces, they endeavoured to stop them, but not prevailing by either, they fell upon those that pressed on them, saying, "That they would be as so many Danes to them who thus ran away." Hereupon those who were of more dastardly spirits made an halt, and the stouter, who were rather carried away by the rout, than fled for fear, joined with them, crying out, "Help was at hand;" so that the whole company turned back again on the enemy, and forced the Danes to as dreadful and as precipitate a flight as they.

themselves had been lately guilty of. This trepidation of the Danes occasioned a great shout among the baggage-men and country people, as if a new army had been coming. This accident gave so great encouragement to the Scots, and struck such a terror into the Danes, that it raised the spirits of the former, who were almost upon the point of desperation; and occasioned to the other a certain overthrow, instead of a hoped for victory. This is the victory obtained at the village of Loncarty, celebrated for that and some days after, and transmitted down to posterity with great rejoicings. When the conquerors were dividing the spoils, the name of Hay was in all their mouths; many creditable persons affirmed, that they saw, wherever he or his sons made an onset, there our ranks were restored, and the Danes broken; in fine, they all unanimously ascribed the prey, the victory, the honour of the day, and their own lives to him. When Hay was brought to the king, he spoke very modestly of himself, and having rich and splendid garments offered him and his sons, that he and they might be the more taken notice of at their entrance into Perth, he refused them, only he wiped away the dust off his coat which he wore every day, and carried the yoke, which he used in the fight, and so he entered the city; a great train being commanded by the king to follow him at a distance, as well as some to go before him: such a confluence of people there was at this new spectacle, that he alone took up almost the whole solemnity of the day. After the departure of the Danes, and so sudden and unexpected a calm, in an assembly of the estates, shortly after held at Seoon, the first debate they went upon was, what honours and rewards should be bestowed on Hay and his sons. Lands were allotted him, almost the fruitfulest in all Scotland, which his posterity enjoy to this day, and their family is happily increased into many opulent branches, and they were then promoted from the rank of the plebeians to the order of the nobility; and a coat of arms was assigned them according to the custom of noble houses, viz. Argent three Escutcheons Gules; which bearing shews (in my opinion) that the public safety was procured by the eminent fortitude of those three persons in that fight.

After this battle, peace seemed to have been settled for many years, when, behold, some troublesome matters at home disturbed this calm: as for the commotion of the islanders, who, in a plundering way, ranged all over Ross: that was quickly suppressed; some of the robbers being slain in fight, some taken in pursuit, and then executed. But Crathilinthus, the son of Fenella, or (as some call her) Finabella, gave far greater disturbance: he was then the chief of all Mern, both in descent and wealth. Cruthinetus, his grandfather by the mother's side, was made governor by the king over that part of Angus which lies between the two rivers, each of them having the name of Esk, where he gathered the king's taxes and revenues; his grandson coming with a great train to visit him, a sudden quarrel arose amongst their servants, so that two of Cra

thilinthus' attendants were slain: he complained of it to his grandfather, who laid the blame of the tumult upon his grandson's rude retinue and company; and after a sharp reproof, he was dismissed by him, but not without contumelies from his servants and domestics: so that, returning home, he, in great wrath, complained of the affront to his mother; who was so far from endeavouring to allay his rage, and quiet the mind of the incensed youth by grave and wholesome counsel, that she provoked him with exclamations even to commit parricide upon her own father and his grandfather. Not long after, Crathilinthus, having gathered an armed company together, fit for his purpose, comes by night into Angus to his grandfather's castle: he, with some few followers, were admitted in without suspicion; and being once entered, he gave the word to the rest, who lay in ambush, and let them in also; so that he slew his grandfather with his whole family, plundered the castle, depopulated the country adjacent; and, as if he had done a famous exploit, he returned pompously with a great booty into Mern. But the Angusians did not suffer this injury to pass long unrevenged; for soon after, gathering a great many of their faction together, they made great havoc in the district of Mern. From that time forward, slaughters and rapines were occasionally committed on both sides. Kennethus hearing of it, published a proclamation, that the chiefs of either faction should appear at Scoon, within fifteen days, to answer what should be objected against them; for he feared, that if a greater number should resort together, farther tumults might arise: some few being terrified by this threatening edict, made their appearance accordingly; but the greatest part, of whom Crathilinthus was chief, being conscious of their own demerits, made the most convenient escape they could. The king made diligent search after them, and the greatest part of them were taken in Lochaber, and some elsewhere. Crathilinthus, and the chief of the faction, were punished with death; others according to the degree of their crimes, had less punishments; and those who were not so guilty, had none at all inflicted on them.

This moderation and temperament procured to the king fear from the bad, but great love from the good; and settled peace in all his kingdom, till the twenty-second year of his reign. From whence, if he had persisted in that course of life which he had begun, he might well have been reckoned amongst the best of princes; for he so performed all the offices both of peace and war, that he got great renown upon the account of his equity, constancy, and valour. But the excellency of his former life was blemished by one wicked act that he committed, which seemed to be of a more heinous nature in him, in regard it was incredible and unexpected to proceed from his disposition, who had before so severely punished grand offenders. The occasion of it was this: the king being now grown somewhat ancient, had a son named Malcolm, a prince of great ingenuity; but in point of age, not yet mature to govern so

fierce a people, if his father should die. Farther, the custom of our ancestors was then against it, that he should reign next after his father; for they were wont to chuse, not the next, but the fittest of the deceased king's relations, provided he were descended from Fergus the first king of the Scots. Besides, the favour of the nobility was inclined to another Malcolm, the son of king Duffus, the most praise-worthy prince of all the Scottish royal race: he was then governor of Cumberland, which county the Scots held as feudatories of the kings of England, on such terms, that the government of Cumberland was always looked upon as previous to the throne of Scotland; for it had been so observed for some ages past. The king perceiving that this Malcolm, for the reasons aforementioned, would be an hindrance to his son's succession, nor daring to destroy him openly, caused him privately to be made away by poison. Thus died that excellent young man, much lamented, and near to his greatest hope; some signs of poison appeared in his body, but it entered into no man's heart to suspect the king. Nay, his deportment was such, as to avert all suspicion; for he mourned and wept for his death, and made an honourable mention of his name, whenever occasion offered: he caused him magnificently to be interred, no ceremony being omitted, which could be invented for the honour of the deceased. But this superlative diligence of the king to remove the suspicion from himself, gave a shrewd jealousy to the more sagacious. Yet they forbore to speak out, for the reverence all bore to, and had conceived of, the king's sanctity. But soon after, the king himself scattered some words abroad, to try the minds of men, how they would bear the abrogating of an old law, and the enacting a new one, concerning the succession of their kings, viz. "That, according to the custom of many nations, if a king died, his son should succeed him; and if he were under age, then to have a protector or tutor assigned to him, so that the kingly name might rest in the child; but the power of government, in the tutors or guardians, till he came of age." Though a great part of the nobles praised his speech, as being willing to gratify him, yet the suspicion concerning the death of Malcolm prevailed upon the major part, and especially upon the nobility, and those of the blood-royal, who were afraid of the king.

Men's minds being thus affected, ambassadors came from England, to comfort the king upon the loss of his kinsman; and withal desiring, that in substituting another governor, he would remember, that Cumberland being the bond of concord betwixt the two nations, he would set such a person over it, who might be an indifferent arbiter of peace, and that would maintain the ancient alliance betwixt the two nations for the good of them both; and who, if any new suspicions or jealousies should arise, would labour to extinguish them. The king judged this embassy fit for his purpose; so that, having convened the nobility at Scoon, he made a grave harangue to them against the ancient custom of the assemblies of estates in this

point; wherein he recited all the seditions which had happened on that account, and with how great impiety some of the surviving kindred had treated the children of former kings; and what wars, rapines, slaughters, and banishments, had been the fatal consequences. On the other side, he put them in mind, how much more peaceable, and less turbulent, the parliamentary assemblies of other countries were, and what great reverence was borne to the blood-royal, when, without canvassing for succession, children succeeded their parents in the throne. Having thus spoken, he referred the matter to that great council, to determine something in this case: he acquainted them also with the demands of the English ambassador; and, to give a greater and more manifest proof of his condescension and civility, whereas it was in the king's power alone to appoint a governor of Cumberland, he left it to them to nominate one; supposing, that by this moderation, he might the more easily obtain his desire concerning the succession to the crown: for if he had nominated his son for a governor, he thought he should have prejudiced his other request; because, as I said before, the government or prefecture over Cumberland was looked upon as the designation of the person to be the next succeeding king of Scotland. Constantine, the son of Culenus, and Grimus, the son of Mogal, brother to king Duffus, who were thought most likely to oppose both requests, were first asked their opinions in this case; who, partly for fear of danger, and partly that they might not run counter to the major part of the nobility, who had been prepossessed and influenced by the king, gave their vote, "That it was in the king's power to correct and amend laws, which were inconvenient to the public; and also to appoint what governor he pleased over Cumberland." The rest, though they knew that they had spoken contrary to their own sense, yet consented to what they said. And by this means, Malcolm, the king's son, though not of age, but immature for government, was declared governor of Cumberland, and also prince of Scotland; which title signifies in Scotland as much as dauphin doth in France, and Cæsar amongst the old Roman emperors, and the king of the Romans amongst the modern Germans; whereby the successor to the preceding magistrate is understood. Other laws were also made, viz. "That as the king's eldest son should succeed his father, so, if the son died before the father, the grandson should succeed the grandfather: that when the king was under age, a tutor or protector should be chosen; some eminent man for interest and power, to govern in the king's name and stead, till he came to fourteen years of age, and then he had liberty to chuse guardians for himself." And besides, many other things were enacted concerning the legitimate succession of heirs, which ran in common to the whole nobility, as well as to the king. The king having thus, by indirect and evil practices, settled the kingdom on his posterity, as he thought, yet his mind was not at rest; for, though he was very courteous to all, and highly

beneficial and obliging to a great many, and managed the kingdom, that no one part of a good king was wanting in him; yet his mind being disquieted with the guilt of his offence, suffered him to enjoy no sincere or solid mirth; in the day he was vexed with the corroding thoughts of that foul wickedness, which would always force themselves into his mind, and in the night terrible apparitions disturbed his rest. At last, a voice was heard from heaven, either a true one, as some think, or else such a one, as his disquieted mind suggested, (as it commonly happens to guilty consciences,) speaking to him in his bed to this effect: “Dost thou think, that the murder
“ of Malcolm, an innocent man, secretly and most impiously com-
“ mitted by thee, is either unknown to me, or that thou shalt longer
“ go unpunished for the same? there are already plots laid against
“ thy life, which thou canst not avoid; neither shalt thou leave a
“ firm and stable kingdom to thy posterity, as thou thinkest to do,
“ but a tumultuous one, and full of storms and tempests.” The king, terrified by this dreadful apparition, hastened betimes in the morning to the bishops and monks, to whom he declared the confusion of his mind, and his repentance for his impiety. They, instead of prescribing him a true remedy, according to the doctrine of Christ, (being then degenerated themselves from the piety and simplicity of their ancestors,) enjoined him those absurd and fallacious ones, which evil and selfish men had devised for their own gain, and unwary people had as greedily received; which were, to bestow gifts on temples and holy places, to visit the sepulchres of holy men, to kiss their relics, and to expiate his sin by masses and alms; and withal, they enjoined him to respect and reverence monks and priests more than he had done before. Neither did the king omit to perform all that they had enjoined him, thinking to be healed in his conscience by these expiations. At length, when he came to Mern, to do reverence to the bones of Palladius, a very holy person, he turned a little out of his way to go and take a view of a neighbouring castle, called Fethercarn; which was then, as it is reported, very pleasant with shady groves, and piles of curious buildings, of which there remain almost no footsteps at this day. The lady of that castle was called Fenella, of whom mention is made before, who bore the king a mortal grudge, not only for the punishment of her son Crathilinthus, but also upon the account of her kinsmen, Constantinus and Grimus; who, by his new law, were excluded from the succession to the crown. But, dissembling her anger, she entertained the king very splendidly, and with great magnificence; and, after dinner, she carried him out to view the pleasantness of the place, and the structure of the castle; and amongst the rest, she led him into a privy parlour to see a brass statue, most curiously and artificially cast, which was made with so much ingenuity, as they say, that when a string or cord, which was secretly bent therein, was remitted and let go, it would shoot out arrows of its own accord; and, whilst the king was intent in

viewing this engine, an arrow darted out from it, and slew him. Johannes Major, and Hector Boetius, do both say, that the king came thus to his end; though in my judgment, it seems not at all probable. For it is not credible, that after the decay of noble arts amongst other nations, so curious a statue should be then made, and that in the remotest part of Britain too; though John Major writes, that Edmond, the son of Eldred, was slain by the same artifice; but I cannot bring myself to think any otherwise than that both stories are fabulous: neither can I easily persuade myself, that all Scotland together had so many jewels in possession, as Boetius affirms that one lady was owner of. And therefore I rather incline to the opinion of some others, (amongst whom is Winton), who write, that the king was slain by some horsemen, placed in ambush at the command of Fenella. He died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign; a prince eminent for all other things, if the murder of Malcolm, and his too great affection to his kindred, had not made such a foul blot in his escutcheon. He reigned twenty-five years, and died in the year of Christ 994.

CONSTANTINE IV. *the eighty-first king.*

AFTER Kenneth's death, Constantine, the son of Culenus, surnamed, The bald, used so much diligence in canvassing to get the kingdom, as never any man did before him. For he insinuated himself into all sorts of people, complaining, that he and others of the royal blood, were circumvented by the fraud of Kennethus, and so excluded from the hopes of the kingdom, upon the pretence of a most unjust law; to which he, with others of the blood, were forced by fear to consent. He farther alleged, that the inconvenience of the law was very manifest and visible in itself. For, what, said he, can be more imprudent and foolish, than to take away one of the greatest concerns in government, from the suffrage of the wise, and to leave it to the liberty of fortune? and to bind themselves to obey a child, because casually born of a king; who perhaps, might be ruled by some woman; and in the mean time, to exclude brave and virtuous men from sitting at the helm? He added farther, What if the children of the king should have some defect, either of mind or body, which made them unfit for government? What if children (proceeded he) had enjoyed the kingdom in those days, when we fought so many battles with the Romans, Britons, Picts, English and Danes, not so much for dominion, as for a mere being and subsistence in the world? Nay, what can border more upon madness than to bring that upon ourselves by a law, which God threatens as the severest judgment to the rebellious; and by this means, either to despise the threatenings and predictions of the Almighty, or to run into them of their own accord? Neither said he is that true, which the flatterers of Kennethus please themselves with urging, *i. e.* that the slaughters and avarice of the king's kindred may, by this means, be avoided; for the king's children, whilst

under age, have as much reason to fear the frauds of their guardians, as before they did the plots of their kindred. And therefore, now the tyrant is removed, (said he), let us valiantly recover the liberty he took away; and, abrogating that law, which was enacted by force, and submitted to, out of fear, (if it may be called a law, and not rather a public enslaving of us, and a prostitution of our liberties): let us, I say, return to the ancient institutions and customs, by which this kingdom arose almost out of nothing; and, which, from small beginnings, have advanced it to that splendor, that it is inferior to none of its neighbours: nay, and which have erected it again to a fresh high tide of glory, when it was at a low ebb. Therefore, let us not neglect, or slip over, this present opportunity, which offers itself, lest hereafter we seek it in vain. By these, and the like harangues, with diligent applications to the great ones, he drew a great multitude to his party, who assembled at Scoon, twelve days after the funeral of Kennethus, and declared him king.

In the mean time Malcolm, who was busy about his father's funeral, hearing that Constantine was made king, called his friends together, to deliberate what was proper to be done. Some were of opinion, that before he proceeded any farther, he should sound how the minds of the nobles stood affected, so that he might know what strength he was able to raise against a popular man, supported by so many factions and alliances; and then, to form a resolution according to the number of his forces. But those who were young and headstrong, despised this course, as slow and dilatory; alleging, that it was best to obviate the danger at its first rise, and to proceed against the enemy before he was settled in his new kingdom. The king being young, embraced the latter opinion, as the more specious of the two; and having gathered an army of about ten thousand men together, marches towards the enemy. Neither was Constantine defective in his preparations; for in a short time he levied so great an army, that Malcolm, at the news of his approach disbanded his soldiers, and retired himself into Cumberland. But Kennethus, his natural brother, begot on a concubine, judging that course to be very dishonourable, persuaded some of the most valiant troops to stay behind, and so to stop the enemy at the river Forth near Stirling, which was the boundary to both armies. There both camps lay idle on the high banks of the river, which was fordable but in few places; by which means they were so afflicted with pestilence and famine, (both which calamities raged very much that year), that each army was forced to disband. Thus the kingdom being divided into two factions, the commonalty was miserably afflicted with hunger, pestilence, and frequent robberies. In the mean time, during the absence of Malcolm, who, according to his league, was assisting the English against the Danes, Constantine, thinking he had now got a convenient opportunity to subdue the adverse faction, marches with great forces into Lothian. Kennethus, who was left by his brother to observe all Constantine's motions.

gave him a halt at the mouth of the river Almon. And because he was inferior in number, he supplied that defect by stratagem; for he so managed his army, that he got the advantage both of the sun and wind; and besides, his army was flanked, as much as it could, with the river, which was the chief cause of his victory. For those on the side of Constantine, trusting to their numbers, rushed violently into the battle, having the sun-beams darting into their very faces; and besides, a storm suddenly arising, drove so much dust into their eyes, that they could scarce lift up their heads against their enemies. A great slaughter was made in both armies, and both the generals themselves, upon a charge, wounded and slew one another; after Constantine had invaded the kingdom a year and six months.

GRIMUS, the eighty-second king.

GRIMUS the son of king Duffus, or, as others say, of his brother Mogallus, after Constantine's death, was brought to Seoon; and there, by the men of his own faction, was made king. He, perceiving that some nobles of his party were already corrupted by messengers sent from Malcolm, and more of them were solicited by him, to a defection, took some of those messengers, and committed them to prison: Malcolm being much incensed at the imprisonment of his ambassadors, as being done against the law of nations, breaks forth into open war. As Grimus was making head against him, a sudden rumour was dispersed through all Malcolm's army, of the vast and prodigious strength of the army coming against them; so that all Malcolm's measures were broken, many of his soldiers deserted by stealth, and many others making frivolous pretences, publicly desired to be dismissed. This fear first arose from the merchants, who, preferring their private concerns before the public good, scattered the report throughout the whole army. And besides, there were some among them, who privately favoured Grimus's party; for, indeed, there were many things in him very attractive of the vulgar, as the tallness of his stature, his great beauty, accompanied with a singular courtesy, and a comely mien in all his actions: besides, as there was occasion, he was severe in punishing offenders; and he managed matters with great prudence and dispatch; so that many promised themselves a happy and honourable calm under his government. In this diversity and combustion of men's spirits, Malcolm, not daring to trust any thing to the hazard of a battle, by the advice of his friends dismissed the greatest part of his army; and, with some select troops, resolved to stop the enemy's passage over the Forth.

In the mean time, the bishop of that diocese, Fothadus by name, of whom all had an high opinion, for his sanctity, endeavoured to compose matters by his authority; and interposing betwixt both parties, he at length brought matters to this pass, that a truce was made for three months; Grimus being to go into Angus, and Mal-

colm into Cumberland: and arbitrators were likewise to be chosen by both parties, by consent, who were to determine the main controversy in dispute. Neither did Fothadus give over his endeavours, till they concluded a peace on these conditions: "That Grimus should retain the name of king, as long as he lived: and that after his decease, the kingdom should return to Malcolm: and for the future, the law of Kennethus, for establishing the succession in the king's children, should be observed as sacred and inviolable. In the mean time, the wall of Severus was to be the boundary to them both: that which was within the wall was to belong to Malcolm, and that without to Grimus. Both of them were to be contented with those limits, neither being to invade each other, or to assist the enemies of one another." Thus peace was made, to the great joy of all men, which was religiously observed for almost eight years. Grimus was the first occasion of the breach; for, whereas, since the beginning of his reign, in turbulent times he had carried himself as a good prince, his industry being slackened by the quiet he enjoyed, he wholly plunged himself in voluptuous courses; and that kind of life being, as usually it is, a life of expence, he was reduced to some necessity, and so was forced to pretend crimes against the richer sort, that he might satisfy his own avarice, and enjoy their estates. Being told of the danger of this course by his grave counsellors, he was so far from reforming it, or from abating any thing of his former injustice, that he resolved to put his monitors in prison, and terrified others, by their punishment, from using the like freedom in reproving kings. In order to this, he invited them kindly to his court, but they, having notice of his design by their friends, thought fit to retire; at which Grimus was so enraged, that he gathered a band of men together, and pursued them, wasting their lands more than any foreign enemy could have done; he spared neither men, houses, cattle, nor corn; and that which he could not carry away, he spoiled, that so it might be rendered useless to the owners. Thus he made a promiscuous havoc of all things (whether sacred or profane) by fire and sword. Complaint of this being made to Malcolm, who was then busy in helping the English against the Danes, he presently returned home: for he was incensed, not only at the undeserved sufferings of so many brave and innocent persons, but much more at the indignity offered him by Grimus; who, knowing that the lands were shortly to pass over to another, without any respect to future times, had ravaged and swept away the fruits, as if it had been an enemy's country. There was a great resort to Malcolm at his return, insomuch, that though Grimus had for a time been dear to, and beloved by the people, yet now the greatest part of the nobles forsook and abandoned him. However, he got what forces he could, and with those he made head against his enemy. When their camps were near one another, Grimus knowing that Malcolm would religiously observe Ascension-day, resolved then to attack him, hoping

to find him unprepared. Malcolm having notice of his design, kept his men in arms; and though he did hope well, as to the victory, in so good a cause, yet he sent to Grimus, to advise him to defer fighting for that day, that so they, being Christians, might not pollute so holy a day with shedding the blood of their countrymen; yet he was nevertheless resolved to fight, alleging to his soldiers, that the fear the enemy was in, though pretended to be out of reverence to so holy a feast, was a good omen of their victory. Then a fierce and eager fight began; and Grimus, deserted by his men, was wounded in the head, taken prisoner, and soon after had his eyes put out; and in a short time, partly out of grief, partly through the anguish of his wounds, he died in the tenth-year of his reign. Malcolm carried it nobly towards the conquered, and caused Grimus to be interred in the sepulchres of his ancestors: he received the faction that followed him into his grace and favour, and blotted out the memory of all past offences; then going to the assembly of estates at Scoon, before he would take the government upon him, he caused the law, made by his father, concerning the succession to the crown, to be publicly ratified by the votes of the whole parliament.

MALCOLM II. *the eighty-third king.*

AT the entrance into his government, he laboured to restore the state of the kingdom, which was sorely shaken by factions. And as he forgave all former offences to himself, so he took care that the seeds of faction and discord amongst all different parties might be rooted out. After this, he sent governors, chosen out of the nobility, into all provinces, (just and pious men,) to restrain the licentiousness of robbers; who, in former times, had taken great liberty to themselves to steal and plunder. By them also, the common people were encouraged to tillage and husbandry; so that provisions grew cheaper, commerce between man and man safer, and the public peace better secured. Amidst these transactions, Sueno, the son of Harold, king of the Danes, being banished from home, came into Scotland. He was oftentimes overcome, made prisoner by, and ransomed from, the Vandals; and having sought for aid in vain from Olavus, king of the Scandians, and Edward, king of England, at last he came into Scotland, and being converted to Christianity, of which before he was a most bitter enemy, he received some small forces there, and so returned into his own country; from whence, soon after, he passed over with a great army into England. First, he overthrew the English alone, and afterwards he had the same success against them, when the Scots assisted them, whom he grievously threatened, because they would not forsake the English, and return into their own country. Neither were his menaces in vain; for Olavus of Scandia, and Enecus, general of the Danes, were sent by him with a great army into Scotland; they ranged over all Murray, killed whomsoever they met, took away all

they could catch, whether sacred or profane; at last, gathering into a body, they assaulted castles, and other strong places. While they were besieging these fortresses, Malcolm had raised an army out of the neighbouring countries, and pitched his camp not far from them. The day after, the Scots perceiving the multitude of the Danes, and their warlike preparations, were struck with great terror: the king endeavoured to encourage them, but to little purpose; at last, a clamour was raised in the camp, by those who were willing to seem more valiant than the rest; and when it was raised, others received and seconded it; so that presently, as if they had been wild, they ran in upon the Danes, without the command of their leaders, and rushed upon the points of their swords, who were ready to receive them. After the forwardest were slain, the rest fled back, faster than ever they came on. The king was wounded in the head, and had much ado to be carried off the field into an adjacent wood, where he was put on horseback, and so escaped with his life. After this victory, the castle of Nairn was surrendered to the Danes, the garrison being dismayed at the event of the unhappy fight; yet they put them to death after the surrender. They strongly fortified the castle, because it was seated in a convenient pass; and, of a peninsula, made it an isle, by cutting through a narrow neck of land, for the sea to surround it; and then they called it, by a Danish name, Burgus. The other castles, which were Elgin and Forres, were deserted, for fear of the cruelty of the Danes. The Danes, upon this good success, resolved to fix their habitations in Murray, and sent home their ships to bring over their wives and children, in the mean time exercising all manner of cruel hardships over the captive Scots. Malcolm, in order to prevent their farther progress, got a stronger and more compact army together; and when they were gone into Marr, he met them at a place called Mortlach, both armies being in great fear; the Scots being afraid of the cruelty of the Danes, and the Danes fearing the places, which they did not know, (as being far from the sea, and fit for ambushes,) more than their enemies. In the beginning of the fight, the Scots were much discouraged at the slaughter of three of their valiant worthies, viz. of Kennethus, thane of the islands; of Grimus, thane of Strathearn; and of Dunbar, thane of Lothian, who all fell presently one after another; so that they were forced to retreat, and to retire into their old fastness, which was behind their backs: there, fencing their camp with a trench, ditch, and large trees, which they cut down in a narrow place, they fronted and stopped the enemy; nay, they slew some, who, as if they had fully carried the victory, did carelessly assault them, amongst whom Encus, one of their generals, fell. His loss, as it made the Danes less forward to fight, so it gave new courage to the Scots, who were intimidated before; so that, almost in a moment of time, the scene was quite altered: the Danes were put to flight, and the Scots pursued them. Olavus, the other of their generals; got some to guide

him, and bent his course that night towards Murray. Though Malcolm knew it, yet, having slain the forwardest of his enemies, and wounded many more, he desisted from following the chase. When news of this overthrow was brought to Swain, in England, he bore it with undaunted bravery, and sent some of his old soldiers, and some that were newly come to him from his own country, under Camus, their general, to recruit his old and shattered army in Scotland. He first came into the frith of Forth, but being hindered by the country people (who observed all his motions) from landing, he set sail, and made for the Red-promontory of Angus. There he landed his men, and attempted to take some places, but being disappointed, he fell to plundering. Having pitched his tents at Balbridum, *i. e.* the village of St. Bride, word was brought him by his spies, that the Scots forces were scarce two miles distant from him; upon that, both generals, according to the exigence of the time, exhorted their men to fight; and the next day they were all ready at their arms, almost at one time. The third day they fought with so great eagerness and fury, as either new hopes, or old animosities, could occasion and suggest; at last the Scots prevailed, and Camus endeavouring to secure the remainder of his army, by flying to the mountains towards Murray, before he had gone two miles, was overtaken by the pursuers, and he and all his men were cut off. There are still extant some monuments of this victory, in an obelisk, and a neighbouring village, which as yet retains the memorable name of Camus. Another band of them were cut off, not far from the town of Brechin, where also another obelisk was erected; the remainder, being few in number, under the covert of the night, made to their ships: these last were tossed up and down several days in the raging sea by cross winds; at length coming to the inhospitable shore of Buchan, they rode there so long at anchor, till they were necessitated, for want, to send about 500 of their men ashore to get some relief out of the neighbouring country; Mernanus, the thane of the place, stopped them from returning to their ships, and compelled them to retire to a steep hill, where, being assisted by the conveniency of the place, they defended themselves with stones, and slew many of the Scots, who rashly attempted them. At last, the Scots encouraged one another, and in several parties, in great numbers, got up the hill, and put every man of the Danes to the sword. There also, as well as at Balbridum, when the wind blows up the sand, there are bones discovered of a greater magnitude than can well suit with the stature of the men of our times.

Yet Sueno was not discouraged, no not even with this new overthrow, but sent his son Canutus with new levies into Scotland. He landed his soldiers in Buchan, and so plundered the country round. Malcolm, though he had hardly recovered his loss sustained in former battles, yet made head against him; and being not willing to hazard all by fighting a pitched battle, he thought it best to weary the enemy with slight skirmishes, and to keep him from plunder-

ing; for, by this means, he hoped, in a short time, to reduce him to a great want of provisions, as being in an enemy's country, almost quite wasted and desolated by the miseries of war before. He followed this design for some days, but at last, when the Scots had got a full understanding of their enemy's strength, they had less diffidence of their own, and both armies being equally pressed with want, unanimously desired a signal to the battle; pretending, unless it was given, they would fall to it, even without the consent of their generals. Upon that Malcolm drew up his army in battle array, and the fight was carried on with such desperate rage and fury, that neither party came off in triumph. And though the mere name of the victory fell to the Scots side, yet a great part of the nobility being slain, the rest, wearied and depressed in their spirits, returned to their camp, giving the Danes liberty to retreat without any pursuit: the next day, when both parties mustered their men, they found so great a slaughter to have been made, that they willingly admitted some priests to be intercessors of peace between them. Accordingly peace was made on these conditions, "That the Danes
" should leave Murray and Buchan, and depart: and that as long
" as Malcolm and Sueno lived, neither of them should wage war
" with one another any more, nor help one another's enemies; that
" the field in which the battle was fought, should be set apart and
" consecrated for the burial of the dead." Upon this, the Danes withdrew, and Malcolm gave orders for the interment of the slain.

A while after, he called an assembly of the estates at Scoon; and that he might reward those who had deserved well of their country, he divided all the king's lands between them: on the other side, the nobility granted to the king, "That when any of them died, their
" children should be under the wardship of the king, till they arrived at the age of 21 years; and that the king should receive all
" their revenue, except what was expended for the education of
" the ward; and besides, that he should have the power to give
" them in marriage; or, otherwise to dispose of them, when they
" were grown up, and should also receive their dowry." I judge this custom came rather from the English and Danes; because it yet continues throughout all England, and in part of Normandy. Afterwards, the king turned his thoughts to repair the damages sustained by the war; he rebuilt many churches and places applied to sacred uses, that had been demolished by the enemy; he built new castles, or repaired the old, in every town. Having thus restored peace to the kingdom by his great valour, he endeavoured farther to adorn it with laws and ordinances; and annexed new titles to certain magistracies, (I believe such as he borrowed from his neighbours,) which served rather for vain ambition, than for any real use. For, in former times, there was no name superior in honour to that of a knight, except that of thane, *i. e.* governor, or sheriff, of a province or county, which custom, as I hear, is yet observed amongst the Danes. But, now-a-days, princes observe no

medium in instituting new names, or titles of honour; though there be no use at all of those names, but the bare sound. Thus Malcolm, having finished his toilsome wars, reigned some years in great splendor and glory. But in the progress of his age, he sullied the beauty of his former life with the deformity of avarice. That vice, being incident to old men, partly grew up in him with his age, and partly arose from that want, which his exorbitant grants had driven him to. So that those lands which he had unadvisedly distributed amongst the nobility, he did as unjustly and wickedly labour to resume; and by exorbitant fines laid upon the possessors, he broke the hearts of some, and reduced others to great penury. The present sense of suffering, though sometimes just, blotted out the memory of all former favours; so that the injury reaching to a few, but the fear to many, the friends and kindred of those who were slain and impoverished, bent all their thoughts to revenge their relations, and to secure themselves. And at last, bribing the king's domestics, at Glamis in Angus, they were admitted at night into the king's bed chamber, where they murdered him. When they had committed the bloody deed, those bribed domestics, together with the parricides, took horse, which they had ready bridled and saddled for all events; and, being not able to find the way, for that a deep snow had covered all the tracts, they were confounded, and wandered in the fields, till they arrived at a lake by the town of Forfar; where, endeavouring to pass over, the ice being not very firm, their own weight sunk them, and they were all drowned. Their bodies lay undiscovered for a time, by reason the ice closed again; but when a thaw came, they were found, and taken up; and being discovered who they were, their bodies were hung upon gibbets in the high-ways, there to rot for a terror to the living; and in reproach to them after they were dead. This is the common report about Malcolm's end; though some write, that he was slain by an ambush, which was laid by the relations of Grimus and Constantinus, the former kings, after a bloody battle joined and fought betwixt them. Others say, that he was killed by the friends of a noble virgin, whom he had ravished; but all agree that he came to a violent death. Malcolm reigned so justly above thirty years, that if avarice had not corrupted his mind in his old age, he might well have been numbered amongst the best of princes. The year in which he died, was a year of prodigies; for, in the winter, the rivers did mightily overflow; and, in spring, there were great inundations of the sea. And moreover, a few days after the summer solstice, there were very severe frosts, and deep snows, which quite spoiled the fruits of the earth, and thereupon followed a grievous famine.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S C O T L A N D.

BOOK VII.

I HAVE declared in the former book, how eagerly Kennethus, and his son Malcolm, strove to settle the succession to the crown in their families, “That the eldest son might succeed the father;” but what the success of it was, will appear in the sequel. This is certain, that neither the public benefit, which was promised to the whole kingdom, nor yet the private advantage, alleged to arise to our kings from it, were at all obtained by this new law. An universal good to all was pretended, in thus settling the succession, that seditions, murders, and treacheries, might be prevented amongst those of the blood-royal; and also, that ambition, with the other mischiefs accompanying it, might be rooted out from amongst the nobles. But, on the contrary, when I inquire into the causes of public grievances, and compare the old with the modern, it seems to me, that all those mischiefs, which we would have avoided, are so far from being extinguished by the abolishing of the old, that they rather receive a great increase from this new law. For, not to speak of the plots of their kindred against those who are actually on the throne; nor of a present king’s evil suspicions of those whom nature and the law would have accounted as most dear to him; I say, omitting these things, which in the series of our history will be farther explained, all the miseries of former ages may seem light and tolerable, if compared with those calamities, which followed upon the death of Alexander III. Neither will I insist upon the particulars following, viz. that this law doth enervate the force of all public counsels, without which no lawful government can subsist: that by it we do willingly, and by consent, create those evils to ourselves, which others, who have interest in public governments, do chiefly deprecate, viz. to have kings, over whom other governors must be appointed; and so the people are to be committed to their power, who have no power over themselves; insomuch, that those who are hardly brought to obey wise, prudent, and experienced kings, are now required to yield obedience, as it were, to the

very shadow of a prince: by which means, we willingly precipitate ourselves into those punishments, which God threatens to those who despise and contemn his holy Majesty; namely, that we should be in subjection to children, male or female, whom the law of nations, and even nature itself, (the mother of all laws,) hath subjected to the rule of others. As for the private benefit that kings aim at by this law, *i. e.* that they may perpetuate their name and family, how vain and fallacious this pretence is, the examples of the ancients, nay, even nature itself, might inform them, if they had but considered by how many laws and rewards the Romans endeavoured to perpetuate the splendid names of their families; of which yet no one footstep remains at this day, no not in any part of the world, which they had conquered. This disappointment most deservedly attends those who fight against nature itself, by endeavouring to clothe a fading, frail thing, subject to momentary alterations, and blasts of fortune, with a sort of perpetuity; and to endow it with a kind of eternity, which they themselves neither are partakers of, nor can be; nay, they strive to effect it by those mediums which are most cross to their purpose: for what is less conducive to perpetuity than tyranny? Yet this new law makes a great step towards it: for a tyrant is, as it were, the white, or mark, exposed to the hatred of all men, insomuch that he cannot long subsist; and when he falls, all his fall with him. It seems to me, that God doth sometimes gently chastise and disappoint this endeavour of foolish men; and sometimes he doth expose it even to public scorn, as if it were set up in emulation of his own power. Of which divine will I know not any fitter or plainer instance, than that which we have now under our hands. For Malcolm, who so much laboured to confirm the law, which was almost forcibly enacted by his father, by common suffrage and consent, “That the king’s children should be substituted in the “room of their deceased parents,” even he left no male child behind him; but he had two daughters, one called Beatrix, whom he married to a nobleman named Crinus, the thane of the western islands, and the chief of the other thanes, and therefore styled in that age, *Abthane*; the other named Doaca, married to the thane of Angus, was mother of Macbeth, or Macbeda, of whom in his place.

DUNCAN I. *the eighty-fourth king.*

MALCOLM being slain, as hath been related, Duncan, his grandson by his daughter Beatrix, succeeded him. A prince of great courtesy, and of more indulgence to his own kindred than became a king; for he was of a mild disposition, and from his youth gave notable tokens of his popularity; for in the most difficult times, when he was made governor of Cumberland by his grandfather, and could not come to the king (by reason of the Danish troops which swarmed over the country, and stopped all passages), to

swear to the laws, yet he faithfully took part with the English, till Canutus, having the rest of England surrendered to him, made an expedition against him; and then he submitted himself to the Danes, on the same conditions under which he obeyed the English before. This also was popular in him, that he administered justice with great equity, and every year he visited the provinces, to hear the complaints of the poor, and, as much as lay in his power, he hindered the great men from oppressing the little ones. But as these virtues endeared him to the good, so they lessened his authority amongst the lovers of sedition; and his clemency to the former encouraged the latter to grow audacious. The beginning of the lessening and contempt of his government, happened in Lochaber, upon the account of one Bancho, thane of that country, a strict lover of impartial justice; some ill men not enduring his severity in punishments, made a conspiracy against him, plundered him of his goods, and drove him away wounded, and almost dead. As soon as ever his wounds permitted him to endure the jogging of his body, he took a journey, and complained to the king; the king sent a public officer to do justice upon the offenders; but he was grievously affronted, and afterwards murdered by them; so great security did they fancy to themselves, by reason of the lenity (but as they interpreted it, sloth) of a good king. The chief of the faction, which raised this disturbance, was named Macduald; who, despairing of pardon, prepares himself for open war. He called in the islanders to his assistance, (who were always prone to sedition), and also the forwardest of the Irish, in hopes of booty. He told them, that under an effeminate and slothful king, who was fitter to rule monks than warriors, there was no fear of punishment, but there might be great hopes of advantage; and that he did not doubt but the Scots, who were in a manner fettered with the chains of a long peace under the former king, when an alarm was sounded to war, would come in to recover their ancient liberty. These exhortations were seconded with a successful beginning, which much heartened the party. There was one Malcolm, of the prime nobility, sent by the king against them with some forces; but his army was presently overthrown by them, and he himself, being taken prisoner, had his head cut off. The king, troubled at this overthrow, called a council to consult of what was fit to be done. Some were very slow in delivering their opinions, but Macbeth, the king's mother's sister's son, laid the blame of the misfortune on the decay of military virtue; promising withal, that if the command or generalship were bestowed on him and Bancho, who was well acquainted with that country, he would quickly subdue all of them, and bring things into a state of tranquillity. This Macbeth was of a sharp wit, and a very lofty spirit; and if moderation had accompanied it, he had been worthy of a command, though never so eminent; but in punishing offenders, of that severity, which, without legal restraints, seemed likely to degenerate very soon into cruelty. When the chief com-

mand of the army was conferred upon him, many were so terrified, that laying aside their hopes, which they had conceived by reason of the king's slothful temper, they hid themselves in holes and corners. The islanders and the Irish, their flight being stopped, were driven to the last despair, and stoutly fighting, were every one of them slain; Macduald himself, with a few others, flying into a neighbouring castle, being past all hopes of pardon, redeemed himself and his from the insults of his enemies by a voluntary death. Macbeth, not content with that punishment, cut off his head, and sent it to the king at Perth, and hung up the rest of his body in a conspicuous place, for show. Those of the Redshanks which he took he caused to be hanged.

This domestic sedition being appeased, a far greater terror succeeded, occasioned by the Danes: for Sueno, their most powerful king, dying, left three kingdoms to his three sons; England to Harold, Norway to Sueno, and Denmark to Canutus. Harold dying soon after, Canutus succeeded him in the kingdom of England. Sueno (or Swain) king of Norway, emulous of his brother's glory, crossed the seas with a great navy, and landed in Fife; upon the news of his coming, Macbeth was sent to levy an army; Bancho, the other general, staying with the king. Duncanus, or Donald, as if just roused from a slumber of indolence, was forced to go meet the enemy. They fought near Culross with such obstinate courage, that as one party was scarce able to fly, so the other had no heart to pursue. The Scots, who looked upon themselves as overcome, rather by the incommodiousness of the place, than by the valour of their enemies, retreated to Perth, and there staid with the remains of their conquered forces, waiting for the motions of the enemy. Swain thinking that if he pressed eagerly on them, all Scotland would speedily be his own, marched towards Perth with all his forces to besiege Duncan; his ships he sent about by the Tay, to meet him there: Duncan, though he much confided in the present posture of affairs, because Macbeth was very near him with a new supply of force, yet being counselled by Bancho to piece out his force by stratagem, he sent messengers, one to Macbeth, to desire him to stop where he was, and another to Swain, to treat about the surrender of the town. The Scots desired, that upon the surrender, they and theirs might have liberty to depart in safety; Swain supposing their request proceeded from the very bottom of despair, would hear of nothing but surrendering at mercy; upon this he sent other messengers with unlimited instructions, and a command to delay time in making conditions; who, to ingratiate themselves the more, told the Norwegians, that whilst the conditions of peace were propounding and settling, their king would send abundance of provisions into their camp, as knowing that they were not overstocked with victualling for the army. That gift was acceptable to the Norwegians, not so much on the account of the Scots bounty, or their own penury, as that they thought it was a sign their spirits

were crushed, quite spent and broken. Whereupon a great deal of bread and wine was sent them, both wine pressed out of the grape, and also strong drink made of barley malt, mixed with the juice of a poisonous herb, abundance of which grows in Scotland, called *Sleepy Night-shade*. The stalk of it is above two foot long, and in its upper part spreads into branches; the leaves are broadish, acuminate at the extremities, and faintly green. The berries are great, and of a black colour when they are ripe, which proceed out of the stalk under the bottom of the leaves; their taste is sweetish, and almost insipid; it hath a very small seed, as little as the grains of a fig. The virtue of the fruit, root, and especially of the seed, is soporiferous, and will make men mad, if they be taken in too great quantities. With this herb all the provision was infected, and they that carried it, to prevent all suspicion of fraud, tasted of it before, and invited the Danes to drink huge draughts of it. Swain himself, in token of good will, did the same, according to the custom of his nation. But Duncan, knowing that the force of the potion would reach to their very vitals, whilst they were asleep, had in great silence admitted Macbeth with his forces into the city, by a gate which was farthest off from the enemy's camp; and understanding by his spies that the enemy was fast asleep, and full of wine, he sent Bancho before, who well knew all the avenues both of that place and of the enemy's camp, with the greatest part of the army, placing the rest in ambush. He, entering their camp, and making a great shout, found all things more neglected than he imagined. Some few roused at the shout, running up and down like madmen, were slain as they were met, the others were killed sleeping. The king, who was dead drunk, wanting not only strength, but sense also, was snatched up by some few, who were not so much overcome with wine as the rest, and laid like a log or beast upon a horse which they casually lighted on, and so carried to the ships. There the case was almost as bad as in the camp, for almost all the seamen were slain ashore; so that there could scarce be got together so many of them as were sufficient to guide one ship; yet by this means the king escaped to his country. The rest of the ships, by stress of weather, fell foul upon one another, and were sunk; and by the hills and mountains of sand, and other slime and weeds which the water carries, meeting together in one great heap, thence grew a place of great danger to sailors, which is commonly called Drumlaw sands.

While the Scots were rejoicing for this victory obtained without blood, news was brought that a fleet of Danes rode at Kinghorn, which was sent by Canutus to help Swain. The soldiers and passengers landing, seized upon and carried away the goods of the people of Fife without any resistance. Bancho was sent with forces against them, who assaulting the foremost, made a great slaughter among them. These were the principal men of the nation, the rest were easily driven back to their ships. Bancho is reported to

have sold the burying places for the slain, for a great deal of money. Their sepulchres, they say, are yet to be seen in the isle *Æmona*.

It is reported that the Danes, having made so many unlucky expeditions into Scotland, bound themselves by a solemn oath never to return thither as enemies any more. When matters thus prosperously succeeded with the Scots both at home and abroad, and all things flourished in peace, Macbeth, who had always a disgust at the unactive slothfulness of his cousin-german, and had from thence conceived a secret hope of the kingdom in his mind, was farther encouraged in his ambitious thoughts by a dream which he had: for one night, when he was far distant from the king, he seemed to see three women, of a more majestic stature than mortals usually are; of which one saluted him thane of Angus; another thane of Murray; and a third king of Scotland. His mind, which was before affected with hope and desire, was mightily encouraged by this dream; so that he contrived all possible ways by which he might obtain the kingdom; in order to which a just occasion was offered him, as he thought. Duncan had two sons by the daughter of Sibert, a petty king of Northumberland; Malcolm, surnamed Cammorus, (which is as much as jolt-head), and Donaldus, surnamed Banus, *i. e.* white. Of these he made Malcolm, scarce yet out of his childhood, governor of Cumberland. Macbeth took this matter incredibly ill, in regard he looked upon it as an obstacle to him, in his obtaining the kingdom; for having arrived at the enjoyment of his other honours promised him by his dream, he thought this would prove the means that either he should be secluded altogether from the kingdom, or else should be much retarded in the enjoyment of it; for that the government of Cumberland was always looked upon as the first step to the kingdom of Scotland. Besides, his mind, which was fierce enough of itself, was spurred on by the daily importunities of his wife, who was privy to all his councils. At length communicating the matter to his most intimate friends, amongst whom Bancho was one, he got a fit opportunity at Inverness to waylay the king, and so slew him, in the seventh year of his reign; and, gathering a company together, went to Scoon, and by the favour of the people made himself king. Duncan's children were astonished at this sudden disaster; they saw their father was slain, the author of the murder on the throne, and snares laid for them to take away their lives, that so by their death the kingdom might be confirmed to Macbeth. They therefore shifted up and down, and hid themselves, and so for a time escaped his fury; but perceiving that no place could long secure them from his rage, and that being of a fierce and unforgiving nature, there was no hope of clemency to be expected from him, they fled several ways; Malcolm into Cumberland, and Donald to his father's relations in the *Æbudæ* islands.

MACBETH, *the eighty-fifth king.*

MACBETH, to confirm the ill-gotten throne to himself, won the favour of the nobles by great gifts, being secure of the king's children because of their age; and of his neighbouring princes, in regard of their mutual animosities and discords. Thus having engaged the great men, he determined to procure the favour of the vulgar by justice and equity, and to retain it by severity, if nothing else would do. Accordingly he determined with himself to punish the free-booters or thieves, who had taken courage from the lenity of Duncan; but foreseeing that this could not be done without great tumults and much trouble, he advised this project, which was, to sow the seeds of discord among them by some men fit for that purpose, that they might be put upon challenging one another; and so some of them might fight in equal and divided numbers one with another. All this was to be done on one and the same day, and that in the most remote parts of Scotland. When they all met at the time appointed, they were taken by the king's men which he had posted conveniently for that purpose. Their punishment struck a terror into the rest; besides he put to death the thanes of Caithness, Ross, Sutherland, and Nairn, and some other chiefs of the clans: by those feuds the commonalty were miserably harassed. Afterwards he went into the Æbudæ islands, and exercised severe justice there. After his return from thence, he once or twice summoned Macgil, or Macgild, the most powerful man in all Galloway, to appear; but he refused so to do, rather out of fear for being of Malcolm's faction, than for the guilt of the crimes objected to him; upon his refusal he sent forces against him, who overthrew him in battle, and cut off his head.

The public peace being thus restored, he applied his mind to make laws, (a thing almost wholly neglected by former kings), and indeed he enacted many good and useful ones, which now are either wholly unknown, or else lie unobserved, to the great damage of the public. In a word, he so managed the government for ten years, that if he had not obtained it by violence, he might have been counted inferior to none of the former kings. But when he had thus strengthened himself with the aid and favour of the multitude, that he feared no force to disturb him; the murder of the king (as it is very probable) hurried his mind into dangerous precipices, so that he converted his government, got by treachery, into a cruel tyranny. He vented the first shock of his inhumanity upon Bancho, who was his accomplice in the king's parricide. Some ill men had spread a kind of prophecy abroad among the vulgar, "That Bancho's posterity should enjoy the kingdom;" whereupon, fearing lest he being a powerful and active man, and, having dipt his hands in the blood-royal, should imitate the example that had been lately set him, he played the smiling assassin, and

very courteously and humanely invited him and his son to supper; but in his return, he caused him to be slain, as in a casual fray or rencounter. His son, Fleanchus, happening not to be known in the dark, escaped the ambush, and being informed by his friends how his father was treacherously slain by the king, and that his life was also sought after, he fled secretly into Wales. Upon that murder, so cruelly and perfidiously committed, the nobles were afraid of themselves, insomuch, that they all departed to their own homes, and came but few of them, and those very seldom, to court; so that the king's cruelty being on one hand plainly discovered by some, and on the other vehemently suspected by all sorts of persons, mutual fear and hatred sprung up betwixt him and the nobility; which being impossible to be concealed any longer, he grew an open, a professed, and complete tyrant; and the rich and powerful were for light, frivolous, nay, many times, but mere pretended causes, publicly executed. Their confiscated goods helped to maintain a band of debauchees, which he had about him under the name of a guard. And yet he thought that his life was not sufficiently secured by them neither, so that he resolved to build a castle on the top of the hill Dunsinane, where there was a large prospect all over the country; which work proceeded but slowly, by reason of the difficulty of the carriage of materials thither, he laid it upon all the thanes of the kingdom, and so dividing the task amongst them, they were to find workmen and carriages, and to see that the labourers did their duty. At that time Macduff was the thane of Fife, a very powerful man in his country; he, loth to venture his life in the king's hands, went not in person, but sent thither many workmen, and some of them his intimate friends, to press on the work. The king, either out of a desire (as was pretended) to see how the building proceeded, or else to apprehend Macduff (as he himself feared) came to view the structure, and by chance spying a yoke of Macduff's oxen not able to draw up their load against a steep hill, he willingly laid hold of that occasion to vent his passion against the thane, saying, "That he knew well enough before his disobedient temper, and therefore was resolved to punish it; and to make him an example, he threatened to lay the yoke upon his own neck instead of his oxen." Macduff hearing of it, commended the care of his family to his wife, and without any delay, fitted up a small vessel, as well as the short time would permit, and so passed over into Lotlian, and from thence into England. The king hearing that he intended to fly, made haste into Fife with a strong band of men to prevent him; but he being departed before, the king was presently admitted into his castle, where he poured out all his fury upon the thane's wife and children, who were there present. His goods were confiscated, he was proclaimed a traitor, and a grievous punishment was threatened to any who dared to converse with, or entertain him. He exercised also great cruelty against others, if they were either noble or rich, without distinction. And from

henceforth neglecting the nobility, he managed the government by his own counsels. In the mean time, Macduff arriving in England, found Malcolm there, royally treated by king Edward: for Edward, when the Danes' power was broken in England, being recalled from banishment, favoured Malcolm, who was brought to him by Sibert, (his grandfather by the mother's side,) for many reasons; as either because his father and grandfather, when governors of Cumberland, had always favoured the interest of Edward's ancestors as much as the times would permit them to do; or else because the "similitude of events, and the remembrance of dangers, gave them "a likeness of disposition in their minds," for each king had been unjustly banished by tyrants; or, lastly, because "the affliction of "kings doth conciliate and move the minds, even of the greatest "strangers to pity and favour them." Whereupon the thane, as soon as he had opportunity to speak with Malcolm, in a long discourse declared to him the unhappy necessity of his flight, the cruelty of Macbeth against all ranks of men, with the universal hatred conceived against him; he advised Malcolm, in an accurate harangue, to endeavour the recovery of his father's kingdom; especially seeing he could not, without incurring a great deal of guilt, let the murder of his father pass unrevenged; nor neglect the miseries of the people which God had committed to his charge; nor, finally, ought he to shut his ears against the just petitions of his friends. Besides, he told him that king Edward was so gracious a prince, that he would not be wanting to him, his friend and suppliant; that the people did also favour him, and hated the tyrant: in fine, "that "God's favour would attend the good against the impious, if he "would not be wanting to himself." But Malcolm, who had often before been solicited to return, by messengers insidiously sent to him from Macbeth; that he might not be ensnared, before he committed so great a concern to fortune, resolved to try the faithfulness of Macduff, and therefore he framed his answer thus: "I know " (says he) that all you have said is true; but I am afraid that you, "who invite me to undertake the regal government, do not at all "know my disposition; for those vices which have already destroyed many kings, viz. lust and avarice, do almost reign even in me "too; and though now my private fortune may hide and disguise "them, yet the liberty of a kingdom will let loose the reins of "them both; and therefore (said he) pray have a care that you invite me not rather to my ruin than a throne." When Macduff had replied to this, "That the lust and desire of many concubines "might be prevented by a lawful marriage, and that avarice might "be also bounded and forborne, when the fear of penury is removed." Malcolm subjoined, "That he had rather now make an "ingenuous confession to him, as his friend, than to be found guilty hereafter, to the great damage of them both: for myself, to "deal plainly with you (said he) there is no truth nor sincerity in "me; I confide in nobody living, but I change my designs and

“ counsels upon every blast of suspicion; and thus, from the in-
 “ constancy of my own disposition, I use to make a judgment of
 “ other men’s.” Then Macduff replied, “ Ayaunt (says he) thou
 “ disgrace and prodigy of thy royal name and stock, worthier to be
 “ sent into the remotest desert, than to be called to a throne;” and
 in a great anger he was about to go away. Then Malcolm took
 him by the hand, and declared the cause of his dissimulation to him,
 telling him, that he had been so often assaulted by the wiles of
 Macbeth, that he did not dare lightly to trust every body; but now
 he saw no cause to suspect any fraud in Macduff, in respect either of
 his lineage, his manners, fame, or fortune.

Thus they plighting their faith to one another, consulted how to
 compass the destruction of the tyrant, and advised their friends to it
 by secret messages. King Edward assisted them with ten thousand
 men, over whom Sibert, Malcolm’s grandfather by the mother’s side,
 was made general. At the report of this army’s march, there was
 a great combustion in Scotland, and many flocked in daily to the
 new king: Macbeth being deserted by almost all his men in so sud-
 den a revolt, and not knowing what better course to take, shut him-
 self up in the castle of Dunsinane, and sent his friends into the *Æ-*
budæ, and into Ireland, with money to hire soldiers. Malcolm un-
 derstanding his design, makes up directly towards him, the people
 praying for him all along as he went, and with joyful acclamations
 wishing him good success. His soldiers took this as an omen of
 victory, and presently stuck green boughs in their helmets, repre-
 senting an army coming back in triumph, rather than going to bat-
 tle. Macbeth terrified at the confidence of his enemy, immedi-
 ately fled, and his soldiers forsaken by their leader, surrendered
 themselves to Malcolm. Some of our writers do here record ma-
 ny fables, which are like Milesian tales, and fitter for the stage than
 a history, and therefore I omit them. Macbeth reigned seventeen
 years. In the first ten, he performed the duty of a very good king;
 in the last seven, he equalled the cruelty of the worst of tyrants.

MALCOLM III. *the eighty-sixth king.*

MALCOLM having thus recovered his father’s kingdom, was de-
 clared king at Scoon the 25th day of April, in the year of
 our Lord 1057. At the very beginning of his reign, he convened
 an assembly of the estates at Forfar; where the first thing he did
 was to restore to the children their fathers estates, who had been
 put to death by Macbeth. He is thought by some to have been the
 first that introduced new and foreign names, as distinctions of de-
 grees in honour, which he borrowed from neighbouring nations,
 and no less barbarous than the former were; such as are dukes,
 marquisses, earls, barons, riders or knights. Macduff, the thane of
 Fife, was the first who had the title of earl conferred upon him; and
 many others afterwards, according to their respective merits, were
 honoured with new titles. Some write, that, at that time, noble-

men began to be surnamed by their lands, which I think is false, for that custom is not yet received amongst the ancient Scots; and besides, then all Scotland used their ancient language and customs, but instead of a surname, they added their father's name after their own, like the Greeks of old, or else adjoined a word taken from some event, or from some mark of body or mind; and that this custom did then obtain amongst the French is plain, by those royal surnames of *le Gros*, the fat; *le Chauve*, the bald; *le Begue*, the stammerer; and also by the surnames of many noble families in England, especially such as followed William the Conqueror, and fixed their habitations there: for the custom of taking surnames from lands was received but lately amongst the other French, as appears by the history of Froissard, no mean author. “Macduff” had three requests granted him as a reward for his service: one, “that his posterity should place the king, who was to be crowned, in the chair of state: another, that they should lead the van of the king’s armies: and a third, that if any of his family were guilty of the unpremeditated slaughter of a gentleman, he should pay four and twenty merks of silver as a fine; if of a plebeian, twelve merks:” which last law was observed till the days of our fathers, as long as any man of that family was in being.

Whilst these things were transacted at Forfar, they who remained of the faction of Macbeth, carried his son Luthlac to Scoon, (who was surnamed *Fatius* from his want of wit,) and there he was saluted king. Malcolm assaulted him in the valley of Bogian, where he was slain, three months after he had usurped the name of king: yet, out of respect to his kingly race, his and his father’s body were buried in the royal sepulchres in Jona. After this, he reigned four years in perfect peace; then word was brought him, that a great troop of robbers were nested in Cockburn forest, and that they infested Lothian and Merch, to the great damage of the husbandmen. Patrick Dunbar, with some trouble, overcame them, losing forty of his own men in the onset, and killing six hundred of them; forty more of them were taken prisoners and hanged. Patrick, for this exploit, was made earl of Merch.

The kingdom was now so settled, that no open force could hurt the king; but he was attempted by private conspiracy. The whole plot was discovered to him, whereupon he sent for the head of the faction, who suspected nothing of the business, and after much familiar discourse, he led him aside into a lonely valley, commanding his followers to stay behind. There he upbraided him with the former benefits bestowed on him, and declared to him the plot he had contrived against his life; adding further, “If thou hast courage enough, why dost thou not now set upon me, seeing that we are both armed, that so thou mayest obtain thy desire by valour, not by treachery?” The plotter being amazed at this sudden discovery, fell down on his knees, and asked pardon of the king, who

being a merciful as well as a valiant prince, easily forgave him. Matthew Paris makes mention of this passage.

In the mean time Edgar, to whom after Edward, the crown of England belonged, being driven by contrary winds, came into Scotland with his whole family. That which I am to speak concerning this person, may not be well understood, except I fetch things a little higher.

Edmond, king of England, being slain by the treachery of his subjects, Canutus the Dane, who reigned over part of the island, presently seized upon the whole. At first he nobly treated Edward and Edmond, the sons of the deceased Edmond, when they were brought to him. Afterwards instigated by wicked ambition, and desirous to confirm the kingdom to his own posterity by their destruction, he sent them away privately to Valgar, governor of Swedeland, to be murdered there. Valgar understanding their noble birth, and considering their age and innocence, and taking withal compassion of their condition and fortune, sent them to Hungary to king Solomon, pretending to Canutus that he had put them to death. There they were royally educated, and so much grateful conduct appeared in Edward, that Solomon chose him out from among all the young nobles, to give him his daughter Agatha to wife. By her he had Edgar, Margaret, and Christian. In the mean time Canutus dying, Hardicanute succeeded him. When he was slain, Edward was recalled from Normandy, whither he was before banished, together with his brother Alured; earl Godwin, a powerful man of English blood, but who had married the daughter of Canutus, was sent to fetch them home. He, desirous to transfer the kingdom into his own family, caused Alured to be poisoned; as for Edward, he was preserved rather by God's providence than by any human foresight, and reigned most devoutly in England: but wanting children, his chief care was to recal his kinsmen out of Hungary to undertake the government, affirming, that when Edgar returned, he would willingly surrender up all to him; but his modesty out-did the king's piety, for he refused to accept of the kingdom as long as he was alive.

At length, upon Edward's death, Harold, Godwin's son, invaded the throne, yet he dealt kindly with Agatha the Hungarian and her children: but he being also overthrown by William the Norman Edgar, to avoid William's cruelty, resolved with his mother and sisters to return into Hungary, but by a tempest he was driven into Scotland; there he was courteously entertained by Malcolm, who made him his kinsman also by the marriage of his sister Margaret. William then reigning in England, upon every light occasion was very cruel against the nobles either of English or Danish extraction; but understanding what was a-doing in Scotland, and fearing that a tempest might arise from thence, he sent an herald to demand Edgar, denouncing war against Scotland unless he were surrendered up. Malcolm looked upon it as a cruel and faithless

thing to deliver up his suppliant, guest, and kinsman, (and one against whom his very enemies could object no crime), to his capital foe to be put to death, and therefore resolved to suffer any thing rather than do it; and accordingly he not only detained and harboured Edgar, but also gave admission to his friends, who, in great numbers were banished from their own homes, and gave them lands to live upon; whose posterities were there propagated into many rich and opulent families. Upon this occasion a war ensued betwixt the Scots and English, where Sibert, king of Northumberland, favouring Edgar, joined his forces with the Scots. The Norman, puffed up with the good success of his affairs, made light of the Scottish war, and thinking to end it in a short time, he sent one Roger, a nobleman of his own country, with forces into Northumberland; but he being overcome and put to flight, was at last slain by his own men.

Then Richard, earl of Gloucester, was sent with a greater army; but he could do but little good either, for Patrick Dunbar wearied him out with slight skirmishes, so that his men could not so much as straggle abroad for booty; at last Odo, William's brother, and bishop of Bayonne, being made earl of Kent, came down with a much greater strength; he made great spoil in Northumberland, and slew some who thought to stop him from plundering; but as he was returning with great booty, Malcolm and Sibert set upon him, slew and took many of his army, and recovered the prey. When his army was recruited, Robert, William's son, was sent down thither, but he made no great earnings of it either, only he pitched his camp at the river Tyne, and rather defended himself than carried on the war. In the mean time he repaired Newcastle, which was almost decayed by reason of its antiquity. William being thus wearied with a war more tedious than profitable, his courage being somewhat cooled, applied himself to thoughts of peace; which was made on these conditions, that in Stanmore, *i. e.* a stony heath, (a name assigned it for that very cause) lying between Richmondshire and Cumberland, the bounds of both kingdoms should be fixed; and in the boundary a cross of stone should be erected, which should contain the statues and arms of the kings of both sides: That cross, as long as it stood, was called king's cross: That Malcolm should enjoy Cumberland upon the same terms as his ancestors had held it. Edgar was also received into William's favour, and endowed with large revenues; and that he might prevent all occasion of suspicion of his innovating things, he never departed from the court. Voldiosus also, the son of Sibert, was to have his father's estate restored to him; and besides, he was admitted into affinity with the king by marrying a niece of his, born of his daughter.

Tumults at home succeeded peace abroad; for the men of Galloway, and of the *Æbudæ*, did ravage and commit murders over all the neighbouring parts; and the Murray-men, with those of

Ross, Caithness, and their allies, made a conspiracy, and taking in their neighbouring islanders to their aid, threatened the government with a dangerous war. Walter the nephew of Bancho, by his son Fleanchus, who was before received into favour with the king, was sent against the Galloway-men, and Macduff against the other rebels, whilst the king himself was gathering greater forces. Walter slew the head of that faction, and so quelled the common soldiers, that the king at his return made him lord steward of all Scotland for his good service.

This officer was to gather in all the king's revenues; also he had a jurisdiction, such as the sheriffs of counties have, and he is the same with that which our ancestors called a thane. But at this time, the English speech getting the better of our country language, the thanes of counties are in many places called stewards; and he which was anciently called abthane, is now the lord high steward of Scotland; though in some few places the name of thane doth yet remain. From this Walter, the family of the Stuarts, who have so long reigned over Scotland, took its beginning.

Macduff warring in the other province, when he came to the borders of Marr, the Marrians promised him a sum of money if he would not enter into their lands; and he fearing the multitude of the enemy, protracted the time in proposals and terms of a pretended peace, till the king arrived with greater forces. When they came to the village Monimusk they joined camps, and the king being troubled at the report of the enemy's numbers, promised to devote the village, whither he was going, to St. Andrew the apostle, the tutelary saint of Scotland, if he returned victor from that expedition. After a few removes, he came to the river Spey, the most violent current in all Scotland; where he beheld a greater number of soldiers than he thought could have been levied out of those countries, standing on the other side of the river, to hinder his passage. Upon that the standard-bearer making a halt, and delaying to enter the river, he snatched the standard out of his hand, and gave it to one Alexander Carron, a knight of known valour, whose posterity had ever afterwards the honour of carrying the king's standard in the wars; and instead of Carron the name of Scrimgeour was afterwards given him, because he, full of true valour, though ignorant of the modes and nicities of fencing, had conquered one who was a master in handling of arms, and who valued himself highly upon that account. As the king was entering the river, the priests, with the mitres on their heads, prevented him; who, by his permission, passing over to the enemy before, ended the war without blood. The nobles surrendered themselves upon quarter for life; those who were the most seditious, and the authors of the rising, were tried, had their goods confiscated, and themselves condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Peace being thus by his great industry obtained both at home and abroad, he turned his pains and industry towards the reforma-

tion of public manners; for he lived devoutly and piously himself, and invited others, by his example, to a modest, just, and sober life. It is thought that he was assisted in this by the counsel and monitions of his wife, a singular good woman, and eminent for piety. She omitted no office of humanity towards the poor, or the priests; neither did Agatha the mother, or Christiana the sister, come behind the queen in any religious duty: for because a nun's life was then accounted the great nourisher and maintainer of piety, both of them leaving the toilsome cares of the world, shut themselves up in monasteries appointed for virgins. The king to the four former bishoprics of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Whitehorn, and Mortlach, (where the old discipline, by the bishops' sloth and default, was either remitted or laid quite aside), added that of Murray and Caithness, procuring men pious and learned, as times went then, to fill the sees. And whereas luxury began likewise to abound in those days, in regard many English came in, and great commerce was carried on with foreign nations; and also many English exiles were entertained and scattered almost all over the kingdom, he laboured, though to little purpose, to restrain it. But he had the hardest task of all with the nobles, whom he endeavoured to reclaim to the practice of their ancient parsimony; for they, having once swallowed the bait of pleasure, did not only grow worse and worse, but even ran headlong into debauchery; nay, they laboured to cover that foul vice under the false name of neatness, bravery, and gallantry. Malcolm, foreseeing that such courses would be the ruin, not only of religion, but also of military discipline, did first of all reform his own family very exactly; afterwards he made most severe sumptuary laws, denouncing great punishment against the violators of them: yet by those remedies he rather stopped than cured the disease, nevertheless, as long as he lived, he employed all his endeavours to work a thorough reformation. It is also reported, that his wife obtained of him, that whereas certain degrees and ranks of the nobility had obtained a privilege to lie the first night with a new married bride, by the law of Eugenius; that custom should be altered, and the husband have liberty to redeem it by paying half a merk of silver, which payment is yet called *mercheta mulierum*.

Whilst Malcolm was thus busied in reforming the public manners, William, king of England, dies: his son, William Rufus, succeeded him. Peace could not long be continued between two kings of such different dispositions; for the king of the Scots chose that time to build two temples or cathedrals, one at Durham in England, the other at Dunfermline in Scotland; upon both which piles he bestowed great cost, so that he endeavoured to retrieve church affairs, which then began to flag and decay: and, withal, he translated Turgot, abbot of the monks at Durham, to the bishopric of St Andrews. This he did, whilst Rufus was plucking down towns and monasteries, and planting and making forests, that

he might have the more room to hunt in. And when Anselme the Norman, then archbishop of Canterbury, did with freedom rebuke him for the same, he banished him the land: he also sought for an occasion of war against the Scots, and so surprised the castle of Alnwick in Northumberland, and slew the garrison there: Malcolm having demanded restitution, but in vain, besieged the castle with a great army: they within, being reduced to great extremity and want, talked of surrendering it, and desired the king to come, and receive the keys with his own hand; which, as he was a-doing, being handed to him on the point of a spear, the soldier run him into the eye, and killed him. And his son Edward also being very forward to revenge his father's death, and, accordingly, the more negligent of his own safety, made an unwary assault upon the enemy, wherein he received a wound, of which he died soon after. The Scots being afflicted and troubled at this double slaughter of two of their kings, broke up the siege, and returned home. Margaret did not long survive her husband and son, but died of grief. The bodies of these kings, which at first were buried at Tynemouth (a monastery at the mouth of Tyne) were afterwards brought back to Dunfermline. Malcolm held the kingdom thirty-six years, being noted for no vice, but famous to posterity for his great and many virtues: he had six sons by his wife Margaret, of whom Edward was slain by the English in the siege of Alnwick castle: Edmond and Etheldred were banished into England by their uncle Donald, where they died; the other three, Edgar, Atheldred, and David, succeeded in the kingdom one after another: he also had two daughters, the elder Maud, surnamed the Good, married Henry, king of England; the younger named Mary, had Eustace, earl of Bologne, for her husband. Several prodigies happened in those days, and in particular, there was such an unusual inundation of the German ocean, that it did not only drown the fields and country, and choaked them up with sand, but also overthrew villages, towns, and castles; and besides, there were great and terrible thunders, and more were killed with thunderbolts than were ever recorded to have perished by that death in Britain before.

DONALDUS VII. *surnamed BANUS, the eighty-seventh king.*

UPON the death of Malcolm, Donaldus (Banus) *i. e.* the White, his brother, who, for fear of Macbeth, had fled into the Æbuthæ, was, without meeting with the least difficulty or opposition, at first declared king; for he had promised all the islands to Magnus king of Norway, if, by his assistance, he might enjoy the kingdom of Scotland. And, in this his obtaining of the kingdom, those were most assistant to him, who did falsely accuse the former king for corrupting the discipline of his ancestors; and, withal, who also consented, that the banished English should enjoy the estates of Scots in England. Edgar, in such a sudden change of affairs, being afraid and solicitous for his sister's children, which were but young,

caused them to be brought over to him into England. But this piety of the good man was calumniated by some; for Orgarus, an Englishman, seeking to win favour with king Rufus, accused him that he had secretly boasted, "That he and his kindred were lawful heirs of the crown." The accuser was not able to make good his allegation by any witnesses; and, therefore, the matter was adjudged to be decided by a duel; wherein the accuser was overcome by another Englishman, who offered him the combat instead of Edgar, who was now grown old, and also sickly. All good men who had a veneration for the memory of Malcolm and Margaret, hated Donald; who, by foreign aid, in conjunction with those of his own faction, had seized on the kingdom: and he, by his rashness, did much increase the hatred conceived against him, and by severe threats which he uttered, amongst his familiars, against the nobles who would not swear allegiance to him. And, therefore, they sent for Duncan, a base-born son of Malcolm's, who had served long with credit in the wars under William Rufus, to oppose Donald. At his coming, many revolted from Donald; so that he was diffident of his own state, and therefore fled into the Æbude about six months after he had usurped the throne.

DUNCAN II. *the eighty-eighth king.*

NEITHER did Duncan reign long; for he being a military man, and not so skilful in the arts of peace, carried it more imperiously than a peaceable and civil government required; so that he quickly got the hatred of the majority of his subjects. When Donaldus, who observed all his motions, heard of it in his banishment, he corrupted Macpendir, earl of Mern, and by him caused Duncan to be slain in the night at Monteath, a year and six months after he began to reign. As for Donald, he governed a troublesome kingdom for about three years; good men rather tolerating him, (for want of a better,) than approving him. The English on one side, and the Islanders on the other, in his time much molested Scotland. The envy also against him was heightened, in that Magnus, king of Norway, had seized on the western islands; which, though he seemed to have done by force, yet all men smelled out the cheat, in regard Donald did not so much as stir at so great an affront. And at last the public indignation grew warmer and warmer against him, when the vulgar understood that it was done by a secret agreement betwixt him and Magnus.

EDGAR, *the eighty-ninth king.*

UPON these disgusts, secret messengers were dispatched to Edgar, Malcolm's son, that he would come over and be general, in order to obtain the kingdom; and as soon as he appeared upon the borders, they promised to flock in to him. And they were as good as their word; for Edgar being assisted with a small force by Rufus, at the instance of Edgar his uncle, had scarce entered Scot-

land before Donald, being abandoned by his men, fled away; but he was pursued, taken, and brought back to Edgar, who committed him to prison, where he died soon after. Edgar having recovered the kingdom by the general suffrage of all the estates, he, in the first place, made peace with William, king of England, and when he died without children, he renewed it with Henry, his brother. He gave him Maud, his sister, to wife, surnamed the Good, from her virtuous manners (as I said before) by whom he had William, Richard, Euphemia, and Maud. Edgar reigned nine years and six months in great peace, revered and beloved by good men; and so formidable to the bad, that in all his reign there were no civil tumults or seditions, nor any fear of a foreign enemy. One monument of his public work, was the monastery of Coldingham, dedicated to St. Ebb the virgin, which he built in the seventh year of his reign; though afterwards it was changed into the name of Cuthbert.

ALEXANDER I. *the ninetieth king.*

EDGAR dying without issue, his brother Alexander, surnamed Acer, or the Sharp, succeeded him. In the very beginning of his reign, some young men that loved to be fishing in troubled waters, imagining that he would be a peaceable (or as they interpreted it, a sluggish) king, as his brother was, conspired to take away his life, that they might rob and plunder with the greater freedom: but the matter was discovered to him, and he pursued the conspirators to the farthest part of Ross; when they came to the river Spey, they thought to stop the king's pursuit, by reason of the rapidity of the river; and besides, the king's friends would not suffer him to attempt the river, because the tide coming in, they judged it unpassable, yet he set spurs to his horse and was about to pass over. The rest, lest they might seem to forsake their king in a danger so great, were his followers; but his own men (as I said) drew him back, so that he sent over part of his army, under the command of Alexander Carron, the son of that Alexander I mentioned before, whose miraculous boldness in passing the river with his forces, struck such a terror into the enemy, that they presently betook themselves to flight. Many were slain in the pursuit, their leaders were then taken, or else afterwards brought to the king, and were all executed on a gallows.

This expedition procured him peace, even to the end of his life. As he was returning through Mern, a poor woman met him, grievously complaining that her husband had been scourged with a whip of thongs, by the earl of Mern's son, because he had sued him for a debt. The king hearing it, presently, in great disdain, leaped from his horse, and would not stir from the place till the offender had received condign punishment, and so he returned to Invergoury, or, as some write, to Baledgary, Edgar's town. Some write, that the surname of Acer was given him for those exploits; but others say,

it had a more tragic original, viz. That some thieves having corrupted one of his bed-chamber, were privately admitted in whilst he was asleep; and that awakened by their sudden rushing in, he first slew his treacherous servant, and afterwards six of the thieves. This raised a great clamour in the court, and the rest fled, but Alexander pursued them so fiercely, that most of them were slain. Afterwards he turned his thoughts to the works of peace; he built St. Michael's church in Scoon from the very ground: the college of priests which was there, he turned into a monastery for monks. Being once surprised in a tempest, and driven into the isle Æmona, he was there reduced to great want and hunger; for neither he nor his companions could procure any food for some days, but what they got from one of those that lived solitary lives, commonly called hermits. He built also a church there, in memory of St. Columba, supplying it with canons as they call them, and lands to maintain them. He also gave great gifts and largesses, and settled lands on St. Andrews, which was rich enough before. He finished the church at Dunfermline, which his father had begun, and endowed it with revenues.

After these transactions in peace and war, when he had reigned seventeen years, he departed this life, leaving no children by Sibyl his wife, daughter of William the Norman.

DAVID I. *the ninety-first king.*

HIS brother David succeeded him in the kingdom, in the year of Christ 1124. He seeing that his brothers reigned successively, one after another in Scotland, staid with his sister Maud in England. There he married his cousin Maud, a woman of great beauty, wealth, and nobility; for Voldiosus, earl of Northumberland, was her father, and her mother was Judith, niece to William the Norman. He had a son by her named Henry, in whom both his father's and mother's disposition did presently appear. Upon this marriage, his revenues were much increased by the accession of Northumberland and Huntingdonshire to the lands he enjoyed before. Thus, with the universal gratulation of his subjects, he came into Scotland to possess the kingdom. It is true, the memory of his parents was of great force to procure him the favour of the people; yet his own virtue was such, that he stood in no need of any adventitious help; for, as in other virtues, he equalled other good kings, so in his condescension to hear the causes of the poor, he was much superior to them. As for the complaints of the rich, he heard them himself, and if a false judgment had been given, he would not set it aside, but compelled the judge himself to pay the damages awarded. He restrained luxury, which then began to spread, according to the example of his father. He banished epicures, and such as studied arts to provoke the appetite, out of the kingdom. He far exceeded the beneficence of his parents and kindred, (which were worthy rather of pardon than praise,) in in-

creasing the revenues of the church. He repaired monasteries, whether decayed by age, or ruined by the wars, and he also built new ones from the ground: to the six bishoprics which he found, he added four more, Ross, Brechin, Dunkelden, and Dunblain. He almost impoverished the succeeding kings to endow them, for he bestowed upon them a great part of the crown lands. Johannes Major, who, when I was but a youth, was famous for his theological studies, having highly praised this king for his other actions; yet he blames his profuse lavishness in endowing monasteries in a solemn (and I wish it had been an undeserved) oration. And I the more wonder at this immoderate profusion of the public money and patrimony; because in those very times St. Bernard sharply reproves the priests and monks in his severe sermons for their excessive luxury and expence; which yet, if compared with that of our age, seems but moderate. The fruits which followed these donations, shew that the design was not well-grounded; for, as in bodies too corpulent, the use of all the members cease; so the sparks of wit, oppressed by luxury, languished in the abbies. The study of learning was quite left off, piety degenerated into superstition, and the seeds of all vices sprung up in them, as in an uncultivated field. All the time of his reign, he had but one domestic commotion, and that was rather a tumult than a civil war; and it was quickly ended in the slaughter of Æneas, earl of Murray, with a great number of his followers. Malcolm Macbeth endeavouring to raise a new sedition, was committed prisoner to the castle of Roxburgh. Other matters succeeded according to his desire, but yet a double calamity fell upon him. One from the untimely death of his wife, the other, of his son. As for his wife Maud, she was a woman of high descent, of exquisite beauty, and most accomplished manners: he loved her passionately whilst she lived, and the loss of her in the flower of her age did so affect him, that, for twenty years after, he lived a widower, neither did he touch any other woman all that time; and yet the greatness of his sorrow was no hinderance to him from managing the public offices and concerns both of peace and war. Concerning his son, I will speak in due place.

David thus addicted himself to the arts of peace, but some troublesome matters in England drew him unwillingly into a war. The occasion was this; all the offspring of king Henry of England, except his daughter Maud, were drowned in their passage from France into England; which misfortune so grieved him, that (it is reported) he was never seen to laugh after that time. Maud, who only survived and escaped that calamity, married the emperor, Henry the fourth. Her husband dying without children, she returned into England to her father. He was willing to settle the succession on her, and in order to it, because she was a widow and childless, and considering his own mortality, he caused all the nobility to swear an oath of fealty to her; and, in hopes that she might have children,

he married her to Geoffry Plantagenet, earl of Anjou. Five years after that marriage, Robert, duke of Normandy, and king Henry died, and Geoffry of Anjou, falling into a dangerous disease, lay bedrid.

In the mean time, Stephen, earl of Bologne, in this want of royal issue, took heart to assume the crown of England; neither did he look upon it as a design of any great difficulty, both by reason of the weakness of the adverse party, and also because he had some royal blood running in his veins; for he was born of a daughter of William the Norman, which had married the earl of Bloys. He had also married Maud, daughter of the former earl of Bologne, and cousin-german to Maud the empress, and born of Mary, sister to David, king of Scotland. Upon the confidence of so great alliances, by reason of the absence of Maud the queen, and the sickness of Geoffry, he thought he might easily obtain the crown of England. And to make his way clearer, without any conscience or regard of his oath which he and the other kindred had taken to queen Maud, he drew in, by great promises, the bishops of England, who had also taken the same oath, into his unlawful design; and especially William, archbishop of York, who was the first that swore allegiance to queen Maud; and Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who had not only taken the oath himself, but had also read the words of it to the other nobles when they took it.

Upon this confidence, even before his uncle Henry was buried, he stepped into the throne, and the two first years reigned peaceably enough; whereupon growing insolent, he began to neglect his agreement made with the English, and also to deal arrogantly with his neighbours. After he had compelled all the English, partly by fear, and partly by fair promises, to take an oath of allegiance to him, he sent ambassadors to David, king of Scots, to put him in mind to take the same oath, for the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon, which he held of him. David returned answer, that he, together with Stephen himself, and the other nobles of England, had, not long since, bound themselves by an oath to obey Maud, their lawful queen; and that he ought not, nor would acknowledge any other monarch as long as she was alive. When this answer was brought to Stephen, presently a war began. The English entered upon the adjacent Scots with fire and sword; the Scots doing as much for them. The next year, an army of Scots, under the conduct of the earls of Merch, of Monteath, and of Angus, entered England, and met the English at the town of Allerton, whose general was the earl of Gloucester. A sharp battle was there fought with equal slaughter on both sides, as long as both armies stood to it; at last, the English being overthrown, many perished in the flight, and many of the nobility were taken prisoners, amongst whom was the earl of Gloucester himself. Stephen, very much concerned at this overthrow, and fearing it might otherwise alienate from him the affections of the friends and kindred of the captive

nobles, refused no conditions of peace. The terms were these, “ That the English prisoners should be released without ransom; “ that Stephen should quit the claim which, as chief lord, he pretended to have over Cumberland.” But Stephen observed those conditions no better than he did the oath formerly taken to Maud, his kinswoman; for before the armies were quite disbanded, and the prisoners released, he privately surprised some castles in Northumberland, and, by driving away booties from the Scots countries, renewed the war. The Scots, gathering a sudden army together of the neighbouring provinces, and despising the English, whom they had overthrown in battle the self same year, run rashly on to the conflict at the river Tees; where they paid for their folly of undervaluing the enemy, and received a signal overthrow; they were likewise compelled to quit Northumberland. David, to retrieve this loss and ignominy, gathered as great an army as ever he could together, and came to Roxburgh; thither Turstan, archbishop of York, or (as William of Newberry calls him) Trustinus, was sent by the English to treat concerning a pacification, and there being some hope of agreement, a truce was made for three months upon condition, “ That Northumberland should be presently restored to the Scots.” But this promise, which was made by Stephen, only to have the army disbanded, was not performed; so that David drove away a great booty out of that part of Northumberland which obeyed Stephen; and Stephen gathering a great force together, pierced as far as Roxburgh; but understanding that the nobility were averse, and complained that they were involved in an unjust and unnecessary war, without performing any memorable exploit, he retired into the heart of his kingdom: and the next year, fearing some intestine sedition, he sent his wife Maud to David her uncle, to treat of peace. Upon her mediation it was accorded, that David from Newcastle, where he commonly resided, and Stephen from Durham, should send arbitrators for composing of matters to the town of Chester in the street, situate in the midway, equally distant from both places. David sent the archbishop of St. Andrews and Glasgow; Stephen, the archbishops of Canterbury and York. Both parties were the more inclinable to peace, because Stephen feared war from abroad, and seditions at home; and the Scots complained that they were forced to bear the shock of a war made in the behalf of another; whereas Maud, for whose sake it was commenced, did nothing at all in it. The peace was made on these conditions, “ That Cumberland, as by ancient right, should be possessed by David, and “ that Northumberland, unto the river Tees, (as William of Newberry the Englishman writes,) and Huntingtongshire, should be “ enjoyed by Henry, David’s son, as his mother’s inheritance; and “ that he should do homage to Stephen for the same.” When things were thus composed, David retired into Cumberland, and Stephen into Kent. This peace was made in the year of our Lord 1139, in which year Maud being returned to England, sent her son

Henry, afterward king of England, to Carlisle, to David his great uncle, that he might be instructed in feats of arms, and likewise advanced by him to the dignity of knighthood; who, without doubt, was the most excellent knight of his time; and that dignity was, in those days, conferred with a great deal of ceremony.

At that time, there was so great disturbance in England, by reason of domestic discords, that no part of it was free from civil war, but that which was in the hands of David, king of Scots; and that he alone might not plead exemption from the public calamity, within three years after, his son, the only heir (in hope) of so much power and felicity, died in the flower of his age, leaving three sons, and as many daughters. He died so greatly in the love and affection both of the Scots and English, that, besides the public loss, every one lamented his death as his own private misfortune; for so great sincerity and moderation of mind shone forth in him, even in that age when youth is accustomed to play the wanton, that every body expected most rare and singular fruits from his disposition when it was ripened by age. His father's grief was also farther increased, by reason of the tender age of his grandchildren, and the ambitious and restless disposition of Stephen; and if he died, he was concerned for the fierceness of Henry's spirit, then in the fervour of his youth, who, being the son of Maud, was to succeed him in the kingdom. When the thoughts of so many foreseen mischiefs assailed his diseased and feeble mind, insomuch, that all men imagined he would have sunk under them, yet he bore up so stoutly, that he invited some of the prime nobility (who were solicitous for him, lest he should be too much afflicted, as well they might) to supper, and there he entertained them with a discourse, rather like a comforter than a mourner. He told them, "That no new thing
" had happened to him or to his son: that he had long since learn-
" ed from the sermons of holy and learned men, that the world was
" governed by the providence of Almighty God, whom it was a
" foolish and impious thing to endeavour to resist: that he was not
" ignorant his son was born on no other terms to live, but that he
" must as certainly die, and so pay that debt to nature which he
" owed, even at his very birth; and if men were but always ready to
" pay that debt, it was no great matter when God, their great cre-
" ditor, called upon them for it: that if only wicked men were sub-
" ject to death, then a man might justly grieve at the decease of his
" kindred; but when we see good men also die, all Christians (said
" he) ought to be thoroughly settled in this persuasion, *That no evil*
" *can happen to the good, either when alive or dead*; and, therefore,
" why should we be so much troubled at a short separation, espe-
" cially from our kindred, who have not so much left us, as they
" are gone before us, to our common country; whither we too,
" though we should live ever so long, must yet at last follow. As
" for my son, if he hath taken this voyage before us, that so he
" might visit and enjoy the fellowship of my parents and brethren,

“ those precious men, somewhat earlier than ourselves; if we are
 “ troubled at it, let us take heed that we seem not rather to envy
 “ his happiness than to mourn for our own loss. As for you, wor-
 “ thy lords, as I am beholden to you for many offices of respect,
 “ so both I and my son (for I shall undertake also for him) are
 “ much obliged for your love to me, and your grateful and pious
 “ memory of him.”

This greatness of mind in the king, as it added much to the veneration that was paid to his royal person, so it increased the sense of the loss of his son in the minds of all, when they considered what a prince they and their children were deprived of. And David, that he might make use of the only way of consolation which was left him, caused his son's children to be brought to him, and to be trained up in court-discipline, which was then most pious. In fine, he provided for their security as far as the wit of man, or human foresight, could provide. He commended Malcolm, the eldest of the three, to the care of the whole nobility, and particularly of Macduff, earl of Fife, a very powerful and prudent man, and he caused him to carry him all over the land, that so he might be received as the undoubted heir of the kingdom: William, the next son, he constituted earl of Northumberland, and put him into the immediate possession of that county: he created David, the third son, earl of Huntingdon in England, and of Garioch in Scotland. He made the more haste to prefer them, because lingering under a disease that was judged to be mortal, he foresaw his time could not be long in this world. He died in the year of Christ 1153, the 24th day of May. He was so well beloved, that all men thought in him they had lost rather a father, nay, rather the best of fathers, than a king: for though his whole life was so devout, as no history records the like, yet some few years before his death, he devoted himself particularly to the preparation for his latter end; so that his deportment then very much increased men's veneration for the former part of his life. For though he equalled his royal predecessors, who were most praise-worthy in the art of war, and excelled them in the study of peace; yet now leaving off contending with others for superiority in virtue, he maintained a combat with himself alone, wherein he advanced so much, that if the highest and most learned wits should endeavour to give the idea or pattern of a good king, they could never comprehend in their thoughts such an exemplary prince as David shewed himself in his whole life to be. He reigned twenty-nine years, two months, and three days.

MALCOLM IV. *the ninety-second king.*

His grandson, Malcolm, succeeded him, who, though then under age, gave great hopes of his future ingenuity. For he was so educated by his father and grandfather, that he seemed to resemble them as much in the virtues of his mind, as in the lineaments of his body. In the beginning of his reign, a great famine

raged all over Scotland, by which great numbers of men and cattle were destroyed. At that time, one Somerled was thane of Argyle, whose fortune was above his family, and his mind above his fortune. He conceiving some hopes to enjoy the kingdom, by reason of the king's nonage, and the present calamity, gathered a band of his confidants together, and invaded the adjacent countries. The mighty havoc he made was spoken of far and near, and the fear of him spreading itself farther, many bad men coming in to him, and some good being forced to join with him too, in a short time he made up a vast army. Upon the report of this tumult, Donald also, the son of Malcolm Macbeth, made another commotion; but being taken at Whitehorn in Galloway, and sent to the king, he was committed to the same prison with his father: but soon after the king was reconciled to them, and they were both released. Gilchrist, earl of Angus, was sent with an army against Somerled, who defeated and killed many of his men, and caused him, with some few more, to fly into Ireland. This victory, thus unexpectedly and suddenly obtained, produced tranquillity at home, but envy abroad: for Henry, king of England, an ambitious prince, and desirous to enlarge his own dominions, resolved with himself to curb the growing greatness and power of Malcolm; but he could not well make open war upon him, out of conscience of that covenant and oath which he had sworn to him: for when he received the military girdle (as the custom is) from king David, Malcolm's grandfather, at Carlisle, he promised and took his oath on it, (as William of Newberry, besides our own writers, say,) "That he would never go about either to deprive David himself, or any of his posterity, of any part of those possessions which David then held in England." He, being bound up by his oath, that he might find out some colour for his calumnies, resolved to try the king's patience in a less affair. When, John, Bishop of Glasgow, was dedicating churches, shaving priests, and performing the other parts of his episcopal office, (as then they were judged to be,) all over Cumberland; Henry, by Turstan, archbishop of York, sent a new bishop into that country, called the bishop of Carlisle. John was so moved at the injury, that seeing no sufficient safeguard, neither in the king nor in the law, he left his bishopric, and retired into the monastery of Tours in France; whence he returned not until the pope, at Malcolm's request, drew him unwillingly out of his cell, and made him return to his own country. Malcolm bore the wrong better than some hoped; so that not thinking it a sufficient cause for a war, he went to Chester in the Street, there to quiet suspicions, and to cut off occasions of discord. Being arrived there, by the fraud of Henry, he was circumvented, and made to take an oath of fidelity to him; whereas it was not the king himself, but his brothers, who had lands in England, according to an old agreement, who were to take that oath: but this was craftily and maliciously devised by the English king, to sow the seed of discord amongst brethren; which the following year did

more fully appear, when he decoyed Malcolm out of Northumberland, which was his brother William's patrimony. For he sent for him to London, that according to the examples of his ancestors, he in a public assembly might acknowledge himself his feudatory for the lands which he held in England. He, under covest of the public faith, came speedily thither, but without doing any thing of that for which his journey was pretended, he was forced against his will, with that little retinue which he had, to accompany Henry into France: Henry's design in this was partly that the Scots might not attempt any thing against him during his absence, and partly to alienate the mind of Louis, king of France, from them. Thus Malcolm was compelled, for fear of a greater mischief, to go against his old friend, and was not suffered to come back to his own country, till king Henry, having made no great advantages of the French war, did likewise return home. Then Malcolm obtained leave to return to Scotland, where, in a convention of the nobility, he declared to them the adventure of his travels; but he found a great part of them very much incensed, that he had joined with a certain enemy against an old and trusty friend, and did not foresee the artifices by which Henry had gulled him. The king, on the other side, alleged, that he was haled unwillingly into France by a king in whose power he was, and to whom he dared to deny nothing at that time; and therefore he did not despair but the French would be satisfied and appeased when they understood he was hurried thither by force, and carried none of his country forces along with him. This harangue, with much ado, quieted the sedition for the present, which was almost ready to break out.

But Henry, who had spies every where, knew that the tumult was rather suspended, than that the minds of the people were reconciled to Malcolm, and therefore he summoned him to come to a convention at York. There he was accused of a pretended crime, that the English had been worsted in France principally by his means; and therefore it was referred to the assembly, whether he ought not to lose all the countries which he held in England. Tho' he answered all the objected crimes, and fully cleared himself, yet he found all their ears shut against him, as being prepossessed by the fears or favour of the king, so that a decree was made in favour of Henry; neither was he contented with this injury, but he also suborned some persons fit for his purpose, to report it abroad, "That Malcolm had freely, and of his own accord, quitted his interest in those countries." At which his subjects, the Scots, were so incensed, that, at his return home, they besieged him in Perth, and had almost taken him; but, by the intervention of some great men, their anger was a little abated, when he had informed the nobility how unjustly and fraudulently Henry had despoiled him of his ancient patrimony. This made them unanimously agree upon a war, that so he might recover by just arms what was unlawfully taken from him by force. Accordingly a war was resolved upon, declar-

ed, and actually begun, not without great inconveniencies to both nations. At last both kings came to a conference not far from Carlisle, and after much dispute *pro* and *con*. Henry took away Northumberland from Malcolm, leaving him Cumberland and Huntingdonshires: Henry had no other pretence for his ambitious avarice but this, that he could not suffer so great a diminution to be made of his kingdom; but seeing no respect to justice and right, no agreements, no covenants, no nor the religion of an oath, could restrain the insatiable avarice of Henry, Malcolm being a man of low spirit, and too desirous of peace, upon any conditions whatever, accepted of his terms, though it went sorely against the grain among the Scots nobility, and cut them to the quick; “they denying that the king could alienate any part of his dominions without the general consent of the estates.”

After this the king began to be despised by his subjects, as not having fortitude or prudence enough to wield the sceptre; neither did any thing bridle their fierce minds from rising in arms, but a greater fear from Henry; who (they knew) aimed at the conquest of the whole island, being encouraged thereunto by the simplicity of Malcolm, and the hopes of foreign aid. This general disaffection to the king did much lessen the reverence of his government. A rebellion was first begun by Angusius, or rather Æneas, of Galloway, a potent man, but yet who promised himself more from the king's sloth than his own power. Gilchrist was sent against him, who overthrew him in three fights, and compelled him to take sanctuary in the monastery of Whitehorn, out of which it was not counted lawful to take him by force; and therefore, after a long siege, being driven to the want of all necessities, he was forced to capitulate: he was to lose part of his estate, for his punishment, and his son was to be given as an hostage for his good behaviour for the future: but he, being of a lofty spirit, and not able to endure this abatement of his former greatness, turned monk, shaved himself, and shut himself up in a monastery near Edinburgh, to avoid the shame and scorn of men. Neither was there peace in other parts of the realm; for the Murray-men, being always given to mutinying, rose in arms under Gildo, or rather Gildominick, their captain; and did not only spoil all the countries round about, but when heralds of arms were sent from the king, they most barbarously slew them. Gilchrist was sent out against them also, with a greater army, but with unlike success; for the valour of an adversary, which is wont to be a terror to other rebels, drove those wicked persons, conscious of their own demerits, to desperation; and, therefore, endeavouring to sell their lives as dear as they could, they routed the opposite army, and became conquerors. Malcolm upon this overthrow recruited his old army, and marched into Murray, and met the Murray-men at the mouth of the river Spey; who, though they knew that the king's forces were increased, and theirs diminished in the late fight; yet being encouraged by the advantage of the place, and their newly obtained victory, they resolved to ven-

ture a battle. The fight was carried on with great resolution, and no less slaughter; for the Murray-men gave not back till the king's forces, being wearied, had new relief from reserves sent them: then the rebels were broken, and there was no more fighting but killing. The fury of the soldiers spared no age nor rank of men. In this fight the old Murray-men were almost all slain, which punishment, though cruel, seemed not to be undeserved; and the greatness of the revenge was allayed, and made excusable by the savage cruelty of that perfidious people against others; hereupon new colonies were sent into the lands of the slain.

Neither did Somerled, in this storm of government, think fit to sit still; he (as I said before) after his overthrow fled into Ireland, and, from that time forward, exercised piracy upon the coasts of Scotland; but now judging that a great part of the military men being slain in battle, he might either get a rich booty from those who would shun the hazard of fighting, or else a cheap and easy victory from them who would stand to it, gathered a great band of soldiers together, and arriving at the frith or bay of the river Clyde, there made a descent on the left side of it; and fortune at first favouring his design, he penetrated as far as Renfrew: but there, whilst he was more intent on plunder than on the safety of his men, he was surprised by a far less number than his own, and lost all his soldiers, he himself being saved and brought alive to the king for farther scorn and punishment; though some say, that both he and his son were slain in the battle. These things were acted about the year of Christ 1163.

The kingdom being thus freed from all tumults, an assembly of all the estates was summoned at Scoon, where many things were decreed for the confirmation of the state of the kingdom; and amongst the rest, the whole assembly unanimously made it their request to the king, "That he would think of marriage, in regard he was now fit for it, as being above twenty-two years of age, that, by that means, he might have children to succeed him." They told him, "It was a public debt due to the kingdom, as well as a private one to his family; and that he ought to mind not only the present time, but to have a prospect to the tranquillity of future ages too." His answer was, "That ever since he had been capable to order and direct his own life, he had solemnly vowed to God to live a continent, and a bachelor's life; which vow," said he, "I think, was the more acceptable to God, both because he gave me the strength to perform it, and also, because he hath prepared heirs already to succeed me; so that I am not compelled to break my vow, neither by any weakness of my own spirit, nor by any other public necessity." Thus dismissing the parliament, having peace abroad, he applied his mind to the arts of his forefathers, *i. e.* building of churches, and donations to monks, wherein he seemed likely to have far exceeded his ancestors, if God had given him a longer life: for he died not long after, on

the ninth day of December, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and a little more than the twelfth year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 1165.

WILLIAM, *the ninety-third king.*

His brother William succeeded him, who entered upon the kingdom fifteen days after Malcolm's death. He would transact no public or private business of any weight, till he had craved of Henry of England the restitution of Northumberland. Henry commanded him to come to London to do him homage for the counties of Cumberland and Huntingdon, according to custom; which he did not unwillingly, yet desisted not from pressing to have Northumberland restored. Henry gave him an ambiguous answer, saying, "That in regard Northumberland was taken away from Malcolm, and given to him by the states of the kingdom, he could not part from it without their consent; but he should come to the next parliament, and there expect justice to be done." William, though he expected no good from the parliament, yet, to cut off all occasions of calumny from his adversary, resolved to wait in England for the convening and opening of it; and in the mean time, though with no very good will, he accompanied Henry to the war in France. There he profited nothing by his daily solicitations; and foreseeing that the king would not speedily return into England, with much ado he obtained a convoy, and returned into Scotland. After his return, the first thing he did was to repress the insolence of thieves and robbers, by punishing and clearing the country of those offenders; then he erected castles, and placed garrisons in convenient places, to prevent sudden invasions: at last, he sent ambassadors into England to demand Northumberland, denouncing war in case of refusal. Henry being entangled in the French war, yielded up to him that part of Northumberland which William's great grandfather held. William took it, but on this condition, that he would not remit his right in, or claim to, the rest. The English king took this very much amiss, and being sorry he had parted with any of Northumberland before the controversy was decided, he made incursions into the Scots borders, and thus sowed the seeds of a new war; and, by this means, he hoped to have taken away also the other lands, which he would have brought into dispute. When right was claimed by the wardens of the marches, according to custom, the English complained that their borders were molested by Scottish robbers; so that the ambassadors were sent away without obtaining the thing they came for, nay, almost without an answer: the Scots, to obtain that by force, which they could not do by fair means, levied an army, and entered upon, and wasted the bordering lands of the English with fire and sword. This being about harvest, the English, in the absence of their king, were content only to stand upon the defensive what they could, but then levied no army; yet the winter following, some ac-

tions passed, and many incursions were made. The next summer William listed a great army, and marched into the enemy's country; the English having few or no forces ready to withstand them, sent ambassadors to their camp, proffering a great sum of money for a truce; which if they could obtain, they gave hopes that all things would be accorded to content. William being a plain-hearted man, and willing to preserve peace, if obtainable upon reasonable conditions, before a war, though a just one, gave credit to their fallacious promises. The English spent all the time of the cessation in preparations for war; but in the mean time they plied the Scots with ambassadors, who made large promises, though their true errand was to discover their enemy's camp; and finding the Scots, on confidence of the truce, remiss and negligent, and the greatest part of their army scattered to get in forage, they returned and gave their army notice, that now was a fair opportunity for action, which they urged them not to omit; whereupon, placing the greatest part of their army in ambush, about four hundred nimble horsemen, in the third watch, a few hours before sunrise, marched directly to Alnwick, where the Scots camp was pitched; there, finding greater opportunity for action than they expected, they set upon the king, who was riding up and down, (with sixty horse only, as if there had been a settled peace), and before it could well be discerned whether they were friends or enemies, (for they disguised themselves with Scots arms and ensigns, that they might pass for Scots), they took him prisoner, in the ninth year of his reign; some few were roused up at the report, and pursued in a scattered manner; divers of them rushed amongst their enemies, as not being willing to forsake their king, and so were made prisoners themselves. William was carried to Henry, then warring in France. The English, elated with this unexpected success, invaded Cumberland, thinking to carry it without blows; but Gilchrist and Rolland, two Scots commanders, did so entertain them, that being repulsed, they made a truce, and were content to enjoy Northumberland only, as long as the Scots king was a prisoner, and to leave Cumberland and Huntingdonshire to the free possession of the Scots.

In the mean time David, the brother of William, earl of Huntingdon in England, and Garioch in Scotland, who then fought under the English banners, received a convoy, and returned into Scotland; where having settled things for the present, he sent ambassadors into England about the redemption of his brother, who was then kept prisoner at Falaise, a town in Normandy. The king gave fifteen hostages to the English, and surrendered up four castles, viz. the castle of Roxburgh, of Berwick, of Edinburgh, and of Stirling, and then he was permitted to return home on the first of February; but then he was called upon by the English to appear at York, with his nobles and bishops, on the fifteenth day of August: being arrived there, he and all his followers (who were the chief

nobility) took an oath of obedience to king Henry, and gave up the kingdom of Scotland into his guardianship and patronage. These conditions, though very hard, yet the Scots were willing to accept of, so that they might have the best of kings restored to them, as the English writers say. Thomas Walsingham, of England, writes, that this surrender was not made at York, but at Constance; yet some say, that this interview of both kings was not in order to the surrender of the kingdom, but for the payment of certain pecuniary pensions; and that the castles were put into the hands of the English as cautionaries only, till the money was paid. This opinion seems to me most probable, as appears by the league renewed with Richard, Henry's son, of which in its due place.

William, at his return, in a few months, by Gilchrist, his general, quelled the insurrections made in his absence in Galway. On the twenty-eighth of January there was an assembly summoned at Norham by Tweed, thither William came; where the English laboured extremely, that all the Scots bishops should acknowledge the bishop of York for their metropolitan; the pope's legate also concurred with them in their desire, and earnestly pressed that it might be so enacted. After a long dispute, the Scots answered, that at present few of their countrymen were there, and that they could not bind the absent to obey their decree, if they should consent to any. Upon this the matter was deferred to another time, and shortly after the Scots bishops sent agents to Rome, to justify their cause before Alexander III. by whose decree the bishops of Scotland were freed from the yoke of the English, and so the messengers returned joyfully home. Not long after, Gilchrist, whom I have often mentioned before, slew his wife, who was the king's sister, because she had committed adultery. He was summoned to appear on a certain day, but, not coming, was banished for ever; his houses were demolished, and his goods confiscated. About the same time the castle of Edinburgh was restored to the Scots, one of the pensions having been paid; and to make the concord between both kings more firm, a law was passed, "That neither king should harbour the other's enemy." Upon this law Gilchrist, who lived banished in England, was forced to return, and shifting from place to place, as a stranger among strangers, and unknown, he passed his miserable life in great penury and want. In the interim, William prepared for an expedition into Murray, to suppress the thieves of the *Æbudæ*, whose captain was Donald Bane, *i. e.* the White, who derived his pedigree from the kings, and had also assumed the name of king. He made his descent from his ships in many places, and spoiled not only the maritime parts, but, his boldness increasing, by reason of impunity, those places also which were very remote from the sea. The king sent out ships to sail about, and burn his fleet, whilst he with an army attacked him by land; and so doing, he put them almost all to the sword. In his return, as he was near Perth, he found three countrymen, which yet

seemed to be more than so, had it not been for their shabby and uncouth habit, who looked as if they had a mind to avoid meeting any company; but the king caused them to be brought to him, and viewing them intently, was very earnest to know what manner of creatures they were. Gilchrist, being the elder of them, fell down at the king's feet, and making a miserable complaint of his misfortunes, tells who he was; upon which the memory of his former life, which he had passed with so much splendor, did so passionately affect all that were present, that they could not chuse but fall a weeping: whereupon the king commanded him to rise from the ground, and restored him to his former dignity, and the same degree of favour he had before.

These things fell out about the year 1190, at which time Richard, who, the year before, had succeeded Henry, his father, in the throne of England, prepared for an expedition into Syria. He restored the castles to the king of Scots, and sent back the hostages, freeing him and his posterity from all covenants, either extorted by force, or obtained by fraud, made with the English, and suffered him to enjoy the realm of Scotland by the same right, and within the same limits as Malcolm, or any former kings had held it. Matthew Paris makes mention of these conditions. William, on the other side, that he might not be ungrateful to Richard, upon his going to war into a strange country, gave him 10,000 merks of silver, and commanded David his brother, who was declared earl of Huntingdon, to follow him into Syria. This David, in his return from thence, had his navy scattered by a tempest, was taken prisoner by the Egyptians, and redeemed by the Venetians; and, at last, being known at Constantinople by an English merchant, after four years time he returned into Scotland, and was received with the general gratulation of all men, especially of his brother. Boetius thinks that the town where this David was landed in safety, before named Alecium, was now called Deidonum: but because the name of Alecium is found in no author, but only in Hector Boetius, I rather think it was called Taodonum, a word compounded of Tay and Dun, *i. e.* Dundee.

Not long after, Richard, after many hazards and misfortunes, returned also from the same voyage. William and his brother came to congratulate him upon his return, and gave him 2,000 merks of silver, as a largess, being moved thereunto either out of remembrance of his former bounty to him, or on the consideration of his present want. Neither were ever the Scots and English more gracious to each other than at that time, as many judge: there William fell very sick, and a rumour of his death being noised abroad, caused new combustions in Scotland. Harold, earl of the Orkades and of Caithness, hated the bishop of Caithness, because (as he alleged) he was the obstacle, that he could not obtain what he desired of the king; and therefore he took him prisoner, cut out his tongue, and also put out his eyes. The king returning home, overthrew Harold in several skirmishes, and de-

stroyed most of his forces. Harold himself was taken in his flight, and brought back to the king; who, when his eyes also were first put out, by way of retaliation, was afterwards hanged; his whole male stock were gelded, the rest of his kin, and companions of his wickedness, were deeply fined. These things are thus related by Hector Boetius, and common report confirms them; yea, the hill receiving its name from Testicles, gives credit to the relation, so that it seems truer than what others write in this matter. These things happened in the year of our Lord 1199, in which year the king had a son, named Alexander, born to him; and Richard of England dying, his brother John succeeded him.

Hereupon the king of Scots went to England, to take his oath to him for the lands which he held in England, and in the beginning of John's new reign, his coming was not more acceptable than his departure displeasing; because he refused to follow John in his expedition into France against Philip, his old friend. So that, as soon as John returned out of France, he sought occasion for a war with the Scots, and began to build a fort against Berwick. William having in vain complained of the injury by his ambassadors, gathered a company together, and demolished as much as was built of it. Upon which armies were levied on both sides, but when their camps were near one another, peace was made by the intervention of the nobles on these terms, "That William's two daughters should be given in matrimony to John's two sons, as soon as ever they were marriageable." A great dowry was promised, and caution made, that no fort should be built, and hostages also were given in the case. William, at his return, fell into an unexpected danger: the greatest part of the town of Berth was swept away in the night, by an inundation of the river Tay; neither was the king's palace exempted from the calamity; but his son, an infant, with his nurse, and fourteen more, were drowned, the rest hardly escaping; many also of the promiscuous multitude lost their lives. The king perceiving that the water had overwhelmed the greatest part of the ground on which the city stood, and that almost every house in the town had suffered by it, caused a new city to be built a little below, in a more commodious place, on the same river; and making some small variation of the name, called it Perth, in memory (as some say) of one Perth a nobleman, who gave the king the land on which the city was built. About the same time, the king took Gothred Makul, captain of the rebels in the north, who was betrayed to him by his own men. When he was prisoner, he constantly abstained from all food, to prevent, as it is thought, a more heavy punishment. This was, in a manner, the last memorable fact of William's, which yet, in regard of his great age, was acted by his captains; for he died soon after, in the 74th year of his age, and the 49th year of his reign, in the year of our Lord 1214.

Not long before his death, leagues were renewed with John, king of England, almost every year; for he being a man desirous to enlarge his dominions, though he had war with the French abroad,

with the Romanists at home, and moreover, was never on sure terms of peace with the Irish or Welch; yet did not break off his inclination to invade Scotland, which had then an old man for their king, and the next heir to him a child. Frequent conferences happened on this occasion, rather to try what might be obtained, than in hopes of any good issue; at length the matter broke out into open suspicion; and after many leagues made between them, at last William was called to Newcastle upon Tyne; whither he came, but there falling into a dangerous disease, he returned without doing any thing. In fine, a little before his death, he was invited to Norham on the Tweed, and when his sickness would not permit him to go, his son was desired to come in his stead, which yet, by the advice of the counsel, was refused: the leagues established in those interviews I shall not particularly mention, for they almost all contain the same things, having in them nothing new, save that in one of them it was agreed, that not the Scottish kings, but only their children, should swear, or be feudatories to the kings of England, for the English lands they held. The mention of these things is wholly omitted by the English writers, I believe, for this very cause.

ALEXANDER II. *the ninety-fourth king.*

WILLIAM was succeeded by Alexander his son, begot on E-
mergard, who was kinswoman to the king of England, and
daughter to the earl of Beaumont. He was but sixteen years of
age when he began to reign; entering upon the government in trou-
blesome times, he composed and settled things more prudently than
could be expected from one of his years. First of all, he called a
public convention of the estates, and there, by a decree, he con-
firmed all the acts of his father, that good and prudent prince.
His first expedition was into England, not out of any private am-
bition, but to bridle the tyranny of John; and it was then said, that
he was invited by the ecclesiastics of that kingdom. Having laid
siege to Norham, he left it upon certain conditions, and penetrating
farther into the kingdom, he carried it very severely against all the
royalists. Upon his return home, John invaded Scotland quickly
after: he made a mighty devastation in Dunbar, Haddington, and all
the neighbouring parts of Lothian; and to spread the war and ruin
farther, he determined to return another way. Alexander being
very desirous to decide it by a battle, pitched his tents between
Pentland hills and the river Esk, which way, as it was reported,
John would return: but he, to avoid fighting, marched along by
the sea coast, and burnt the monastery of Coldingham: he also
took and burnt Berwick, which was then but meanly fortified. As
he thus marched hastily back, Alexander followed him as fast as he
could, and making great havoc all over Northumberland, came as
far as Richmond: but John, by speedy marches, having retreated
into the heart of England, Alexander returned by Westmoreland,
and laid all waste to the very gates of Carlisle; the city itself he

ook by force, and fortified it. The next year Louis, the son of Philip, king of France, was sent for by those who favoured the ecclesiastical faction, to London; that so he, upon the deposition of John, might possess the kingdom. At the same time, Alexander likewise came thither to aid his old friend: but John being deserted by his subjects, and invaded by foreign arms, upon the payment of a great sum of money at present, and the promise of a perpetual pension; and moreover, transferring the right of the kingdom of England to the pope, so that the kings of England, for the future, were to be his feudatories, was received into favour: hereupon he obtained letters from Rome by cardinal Galo, a man of known avarice, wherein the Scots and French were, with great threats, forbid to meddle with a people which were tributaries to the holy see.

Upon this sudden change of things, Louis returned into France, and Alexander into Scotland; but his return home was not so quiet as his entrance into England: for the English pressing upon the rear of his retiring army, took many of the stragglers prisoners; and besides, John had broken down all the bridges on the Trent, and had fastened sharp pikes or palisadoes in all its fords, removing away all ships and boats, which seemed such obstacles to his retreat, as must needs end in his destruction. In the mean time, John was poisoned by an English monk at Newark, a town seated on the Trent; and being carried in a litter, died in two days. That casualty opened the way for Alexander's march; then blaming and punishing his men for their former carelessness, he marched on more circumspectly, but not without the great damage of those through whose countries he passed: for whatsoever could be driven away, or carried, he took with him, and so returned home with a great booty. Galo, the pope's legate, when he had settled Henry, the son of John, in the throne, fined the nobles of England in a great sum of money, and then received them into favour. And to give them some recompence for their loss, by the like calamity of their enemies, he excommunicates Louis of France, and Alexander of Scotland, in hopes to obtain some booty from them into the bargain. The Scots were interdicted all divine offices; for he imagined that his thundering anathemas would prevail more amongst the simple vulgar than with the kings; but at last peace was made between the two monarchs; the Scots were to restore Carlisle, and the English, Berwick; and the ancient bounds at Kings-cross were to be observed by them both. Alexander and his subjects were released from their censures by the English bishops, who were authorised for that purpose. Galo was much enraged that so great a prey should be taken out of his hands, so that he turned his anger on the bishops, and the rest of the clergy of Scotland, as his own peculiar, with whom kings had nothing to do. He summoned them to appear at Alnwick, whither when they came, the more fearful appeased his wrath with money, the more resolute were cited to Rome. But they having also received many letters from some of the Eng-

lish bishops and abbots, directed to the pope, concerning the sordid spirit of the legate, made grievous complaints against him, calling him the "firebrand of all mischief, because he studied not the public good, but his own avarice, and did chaffer for, and sell peace and war amongst princes at his own pleasure." Galo not being able to acquit himself of the crimes laid to his charge, was fined by the pope in the loss of the money he had got, which was to be divided amongst his accusers, who upon this returned home, with a whole load of large promises, but with empty purses. A few years after, Henry of England being now grown ripe both in years and judgment, came to York: there he agreed with Alexander, in the presence of Pandulphus, the pope's legate, to take Joan, Henry's sister, to wife; by whom, because of her untimely death, he had no children.

From that time, there was peace between both kings as long as they lived: there Henry also solemnly promised and swore before the same Pandulphus, that he would bestow the two sisters of Alexander in honourable marriages, according to their dignity, as his father had promised before; but one of them returned home unmarried, one only being bestowed in marriage. The next year, viz. 1220, cardinal Giles came into England to fish for money for the holy war; and, accordingly, having scraped together a great sum in both kingdoms, which, by his impostures, he had gulled persons of that were too credulous, he luxuriously spent it in his journey; so that he came empty to Rome, falsely alleging that he was robbed by thieves in the way. Another legate presently succeeded him, but men having been twice cheated by Italian fraud, forbade him, in a public decree, to set his foot upon English ground. Alexander was busied to suppress vices at home, which sprung up by the licentiousness of war, and he travelled over the whole kingdom with his queen to do justice; whilst Gillespie, a Rossian, spoiled Ross, and the neighbouring countries; for, passing over the river Ness, he took and burnt the town of Inverness, and cruelly slew all those that refused to swear obedience to him. John Cumin, earl of Buchan, was sent against him, who took him and his two sons as they were shifting up and down, and changing their quarters to secure themselves; he cut off their heads, and sent them for a token to the king. About this time the Caithnesians entered by night into the bed-chamber of Adam their bishop, and there killed a monk, who was his usual companion, (for he had been before abbot of Mulross,) and one of his bed-chamber; as for the bishop himself, they grievously wounded him, and dragging him into the kitchen, there they burnt him and the house he was in. The cause of their great cruelty was (as it is reported) because the bishop was more severe than usual in exacting his tithes. The offenders were diligently sought out, and most severely punished; the earl of Caithness, though he was not present at the fact, yet was somewhat suspected; but afterwards being brought privately to the king on the

Christmas holy-days, which are the Scots Saturnalia, he humbly begged his pardon, and obtained it.

About this time, Alan of Galloway, the most powerful man in Scotland, departed this life. He left three daughters behind him, of whom I shall speak hereafter. Thomas, his bastard son, despising their age and sex, sets up for himself as lord of the family; and not contented with that, he gathers 10,000 men together, kills all that oppose him, and drives booties far and near from all the neighbouring countries. At last the king sent an army against him, who slew 5000 of the rebels with their general. The same year, Alexander, with his wife, went for England, to allay the tumults as much as he could, raised against Henry, and to reconcile him to the nobility. Whilst he was busy about this at York, his wife went with the queen of England a pilgrimage to Canterbury; but at her return she fell sick, died, and was buried at London. Not long after her death, the king being childless, married Mary, the daughter of Ingelram, earl of Coucy in France, in the year of Christ 1239, by whom he had Alexander, who succeeded his father in the throne. Two years after, viz. in 1242, whilst the king was hastening to England to visit that king newly returned from France, and entertaining himself a while at Haddington, in Lothian, with horse-races, the lodging or inn of Patrick of Galloway, earl of Athol, was set on fire, where Patrick and two of his servants were burnt, the fire spreading itself a great way farther. It was not thought to have casually happened, because of the noted feuds between Patrick and the family of the Bissets. And though William, the chief of that family, was at Forfar, above sixty miles from Haddington the same night that the fire happened, as the queen could testify in his behalf; yet, because the adverse party, the kindred of Patrick, pleaded that many of his servants and tenants were seen at Haddington at that time, William was summoned to appear: he came to Edinburgh at the day fixed, but not daring to stand to his trial, because of the power of his adversaries, which were the Cumins, he would have tried the matter in a duel; but that not being accepted, he and some of his friends banished themselves into Ireland, where he left a noble family of his name and house. There was also another seditious tumult in Argyle, raised by Somerled, son of the former Somerled; but he being conquered in a few days by Patrick Dunbar, and submitting to the king's mercy, obtained pardon for all his past offences. The king, not long after, fell sick, and died in the fifty-first year of his age, the thirty-fifth of his reign, and of our Lord 1249.

ALEXANDER III. *the ninety-fifth king.*

ALEXANDER the third, his son, was crowned king at Scoon the same year, a child not past eight years old. The power of all things was mostly in the faction of the Cumins; for they turned the public revenue to the enrichment of themselves, oppressed

the poor, and by false accusations cut off some of the nobles who were averse to their humours and desires, and dared to speak freely of the state of the king; and being condemned, their goods were confiscated, and brought into the king's exchequer; from whence they (who rather commanded than obeyed the king) received them back again for their private emolument. A convention of the estates being held, the chief matter in agitation was to keep peace with the king of England, lest in such a troublesome time he should make any attempt upon them; and to do it more easily, an affinity was proposed. This way seemed more commodious to the Anti-Cuminian party to undermine their power, than openly to oppose it. Accordingly ambassadors were sent to England, who were kindly received, and munificently rewarded by that king, who granted them all their desires. The next year, which was 1251, both kings met at York, on the twenty-fourth of November. There, on Christmas day, Alexander was made knight by the king of England; and, the day after, the match was concluded betwixt him and Margaret, Henry's daughter. A peace was also renewed betwixt them, which, as long as Henry lived, was inviolably observed. And because Alexander was yet but a child, and under age, it was decreed, by the advice of his friends, "That he should consult his father-in-law, as a guardian, in all matters of weight;" some of the prime men being accused by virtue of this decree, secretly withdrew themselves. When the king returned home, Robert, abbot of Dunfermline, chancellor of the kingdom, was accused, because he had legitimated the wife of Alan Durward, who was but the natural or base-born daughter of Alexander II. that so, if the king died without issue, she might come in as heiress: upon this fear, the chancellor, as soon as ever he returned home, surrendered up the seal to the nobles. Gamelin, afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews, succeeded him in his office.

The three next years, they who were the king's council, did, almost every one of them, carry themselves as kings, whatever they caught was their own; so that the poor commonalty were left destitute, and miserably oppressed. The king of England being made acquainted with it, out of his paternal affection to his son-in-law, came to Werk castle, situate on the borders of Scotland, and sent for his son-in-law, Alexander, and his nobles thither. There, by his advice, many advantageous alterations were made, especially of those magistrates by whose defaults insurrections had been caused at home, and also many profitable statutes yere enacted for the future. The king returned to Scotland, with his wife, and having an English guard to convey him home, he resolved to reside in the castle of Edinburgh. Walter Cumin, earl of Monteath, kept the castle, who was disaffected, because of the change of the public state, made by the king of England; yet he was compelled to surrender it by Patrick Dunbar, with the assistance of the English forces. The greatest part of the nobility, and of the ecclesiastics, were offended,

in regard their power was somewhat abridged by those new statutes, which they looked upon as a yoke imposed upon them by the English, and a beginning of their servitude: nay, they proceeded to that height of contumacy, that, being summoned to give a legal account of their management of affairs in former times, they made light of the summons; the same persons, who were the principal actors in disturbing things before, were now the chief encouragers to disobedience. They were generally the clans of the Cumins, Walter, earl of Monteath, Alexander, earl of Buchan, John, earl of Athol, William, earl of Marr, and other considerable men of the same faction. They did not dare to put their cause on a legal trial, as being conscious to themselves of the many wrongs done to the poor and meaner sort, nay, to the king himself; and, therefore, they resolved to outface justice by their impudence and audacity: for, being informed that the king was but lightly guarded, and lived securely at Kinross, as in a time of peace, they immediately gathered a band of their vassals about them, seized him as he was asleep, and carried him to Stirling; and as if there had been no force in the case, but they had been rightfully elected, they discharged and expelled his old servants, took new, and managed all things at their own will and pleasure; so that now the terror and consternation was turned upon the former counsellors.

But this sedition was allayed by the death of Walter Cumin, who was poisoned, as it is thought, by his wife, an English woman; the suspicion of its being done by her was increased, because, though she was courted by many noblemen, yet she married John Russel, her gallant, a young English spark: she was accused of poisoning, and thrown into prison, but she bought her liberty. Russel and his wife obtained letters from the pope, permitting them to commence an action of the case against their adversaries, for the wrong done them, before the pope's legate; but it was to no purpose, because the Scots urged an ancient privilege, exempting them from going out of the kingdom when they were to plead their causes.

When the king was of age, upon the humble petition of the Cumins, he pardoned them, as if all their offences had been expiated by the death of Walter. He was induced so to do, as some say, by reason of the greatness of their family; and also, because he was apprehensive of foreign wars, when matters lay so unsettled at home; but that war began not so soon as men thought it would.

In the year of Christ 1263, on the first of August, Acho, king of Norway, with a fleet of 160 sail, came to Ayr, a maritime town of Kyle, where he landed 20,000 men. The cause of the war, as he pretended, was, that some islands, which were promised to his ancestors by Donald Bane, were not yet put into his hands, viz. Bute, Arran, and both the Cumbræes, which were never reckoned amongst the *Æbudæ*; but it was enough for him who sought a pretence for war, that they were islands. Acho took two of the greatest of them, and reduced their castles, before he met with any

opposition. Being puffed up with this success, he makes a descent into Cunningham, the next continent over against Bute, in that part of it which they call the Largs. There he met with two misfortunes, almost at one and the same time; one was, that he was overcome in fight by Alexander Stuart, the great-grandfather of him who first of that name was king of Scotland; and being almost taken by the multitude of his enemies, he hardly escaped in great fear to his ships. The other was, that his ships being tossed in a mighty tempest, could hardly carry him, with a few of his followers who escaped, into the Orcades. There was slain in that battle sixteen thousand of the Norwegians, and five thousand of the Scots: some writers say, that king Alexander was in this fight himself; yet they also make honourable mention of the name of this Alexander Stuart. Acho died of grief for the loss of his army, and of his kinsman, a valiant youth, whose name is not mentioned by writers.

His son, Magnus, who was lately come to him, perceiving things in a more desperate posture than he ever thought they would be brought to; especially having no hopes of recruits from home before the spring, and also finding the minds of the islanders alienated from him, and that he was forsaken by the Scots too, in confidence of whose aid his father had undertaken that war; these things considered, he easily inclined to terms of peace: the spirit of the young man was depressed both by the unlucky fight, and also by his fear of the islanders; for Alexander, by sending about some ships, had then recovered the isle of Man, situate almost in the midst between Scotland and Ireland, upon these conditions, that the king of it should send in ten galleys to the Scots as often as there was occasion; and that the Scots should defend him from a foreign enemy. When Magnus saw that the rest of the islands inclined to follow the example of the Manks-men, he sent ambassadors to treat of peace, which Alexander refused to make, unless the *Æbudæ* were restored: at last, by the diligence of the commissioners, it was agreed that the Scots should have the *Æbudæ*; for which at present they were to pay 4000 merks of silver, and 100 merks a-year. And moreover, that Margaret, Alexander's daughter, being then but four years old, should marry Hangananus, the son of Magnus, as soon as she was fit for marriage.

About this time, the king of England being infested with civil war, had five thousand Scots sent him for his assistance, under the command of Robert Bruce and Alexander Cumin, whom the English writers call John; the greatest part of them were slain in fight, and Cumin, with the English king and his son, and a great part of the English nobility of the king's party, were taken prisoners.

Moreover, the Scots king was much troubled at the arrogance of the priests and monks in his kingdom; who being enriched by former kings, began to grow wanton in a continued peace; nay, they endeavoured to be equal, if not superior, to the nobility, whom they excelled in wealth. The young nobility repining at it, and taking it

in great disdain, used them pretty roughly; complaints were made by them to the king, who, imagining either that their wrongs were not so great as they represented them, or else, that they suffered them deservedly, neglected their pretended grievances: what do they do next truly, but excommunicate every soul except the king, and in great wrath determined to go to Rome. But the king remembering what great commotions Thomas Becket, the prime promoter of ecclesiastical ambition, had lately made in England, called them back from their journey, and caused the nobility to satisfy not only their avarice, but even their arrogance too; and, indeed, they were the more inclinable to an accord with the king, because he had lately undertaken the patronage of the ecclesiastical orders against the avarice of the Romanists; for a little before Ottobon, the pope's legate, was come into England to appease the civil discords; but not being able to effect the thing he came for, he omitted the public care, and studied his own private gain and lucre: he called an ecclesiastical assembly of the English, procurators from Scotland being also summoned to it. In the mean time, he endeavoured to exact four merks of silver from every parish in Scotland, and six from all cathedrals, by way of procuration-money. This contribution, or tax, was scarce refused, when news was brought, that another legate was arrived in England, bound also for Scotland, on pretence to collect money for the holy war; and besides that procured by indulgences and other lime-twigs, to catch money, he endeavoured to wrest from all bishops, abbots, and parish priests, (as judging them to be immediately under papal jurisdiction,) the tenth part of their yearly revenues; that so Edward and Edmond, sons to the king of England, might go more nobly and numerously attended to the war in Syria. The Scots judged this tax to be very grievous and unjust, especially because the English seemed to be so forward to have it granted, as if Scotland were not *sui juris*, or an absolute kingdom, but dependent on England. Moreover, they were afraid lest the legate should riotously mispend the money designed for the war, as was done some years before. Upon this, they forbade him to enter their borders, but sent him word that they themselves, without his presence, would gather money for, and send soldiers to the Syrian war; and indeed they sent soldiers, under the command of the earls of Carrick and Athol, two of the chief nobility, to Louis, king of France; and to the pope, lest he might think himself altogether disesteemed, they sent 1000 merks of silver.

The year after, Henry, king of England, died, and his son Edward I. succeeded him; at whose coronation Alexander and his wife were present; she returning, died soon after; nay, David, the king's son, and also Alexander, being newly married to the daughter of the earl of Flanders, followed her a little time after, and made a continuation of mourning and funerals; Margaret also, the king's daughter, departed this life, who left a daughter behind her, that she had by Hangananus, king of Norway. Alexander being thus,

in a few years, deprived both of his wife and children, took to wife Joleta, the daughter of the count de Dreux; and within a year, he fell from his horse, and broke his neck, not far from Kinghorn, in the year of our Lord 1285, on the nineteenth of March; he lived forty-five years, and reigned thirty-seven.

He was more missed than any king of Scotland had been before him; not so much for the eminent virtues of his mind, and the accomplishments of his body, as that people foresaw what great calamities would befall the kingdom upon his decease. Those wholesome laws which he made, are grown obsolete, and out of use, through the negligence of men, and the length of time; and their utility is rather celebrated by report, than felt by trial and experience. He divided the kingdom into four parts, and almost every year he travelled them all over, staying about three months in each of them to do justice, and to hear the complaints of the poor, who had free access to him during that whole time. Whenever he went to an assize or sessions, he commanded the prefect or sheriff of that precinct, to meet him with a select number of men, and to accompany him at his departure to the bounds of his jurisdiction, where he was received by the next sheriff. By this means, he got a thorough knowledge of all the nobility, and was himself as well known to them; and the people, as he went, were not burdened with a troop of courtiers, who are commonly imperious, and given to play the game of avarice wheresoever they come. He commanded the magistrates to punish all idle persons who followed no trade, nor had any estates to maintain them; for his opinion was, "That idleness was the source and fountain of all wickedness." He reduced the train of horesemen that attended the nobles when they travelled to a certain number; because he thought that the multitude of horses which were unfit for war, would spend too much provision: and whereas, by reason of unskillfulness in navigation, or else by men's avarice, in venturing out rashly to sea, many shipwrecks had happened; and the violence of pirates making an addition to the misfortunes, the company of merchants were almost undone, he commanded they should traffic no more by sea. That order lasted about a year, but being complained of by many as a public prejudice, at length so great a quantity of foreign commodities were imported, that they were never cheaper in Scotland within the memory of man. In this case, that he might consult the good of the merchants-company, he forbade that any but merchants should buy of foreigners what they imported by wholesale; but what every man wanted, he was to buy it of the merchant at second hand, or by retail.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S C O T L A N D.

BOOK VIII.

ALEXANDER, and his whole lineage (besides one granddaughter by his daughter) being extinct, a convention of the estates was held at Scoon, to treat about creating a new king, and settling the state of the kingdom; where, when most of the nobility were come, in the first place, they appointed six vicegerents to govern matters at present; so, dividing the provinces, that Duncan Macduff should preside over Fife, of which he was earl; John Cumin, earl of Buchan, over Buchan; William Fraser, archbishop of St. Andrews, over that part of the kingdom which lay northward; and that Robert, bishop of Glasgow, another John Cumin, and John Stuart, should govern the southern countries, and that the boundary in the midst should be the river Forth. Edward, king of England, knowing that his sister's grandchild, daughter of the king of Norway, was the only surviving person of all the posterity of Alexander; and that she was lawful heiress of the kingdom of Scotland, sent ambassadors into Scotland to desire her as a wife for his son.

The ambassadors, in the session, discoursed much of the public utility like to accrue to both kingdoms by this marriage, neither did they find the Scots averse to it; for Edward was a man of great courage and power, yet he desired to increase it; and his valour highly appeared in the holy war in his father's lifetime, and after his death in his subduing of Wales; neither were there ever more endearments passed betwixt the Scots and the English than under the last kings; nay, the ancient hatred seemed no way more likely to be abolished, than if both nations, on just and equal terms, might be united into one.

For these reasons, the marriage was easily assented to; and these conditions were also added by the consent of both parties; as that the Scots should use their own laws and magistrates till children should come by that marriage, who might govern the kingdom; or if no such should be born, or being born should die before they came to the crown, then the kingdom of Scotland was to pass to

the next a-kin of the blood-royal. Matters being thus settled, ambassadors were sent into Norway, Michael, or as others call him, David Weems and Michael Scot, two eminent knights of Fife, and much famed for their prudence in those days; but Margaret (for that was the name of the young princess) died before they came thither, so that they returned home with sorrowful hearts, without doing their errand.

By reason of the untimely death of this young lady, a controversy arose concerning the kingdom, which gave a mighty shock to England, but almost ruined Scotland. The competitors were men of great power, John Baliol and Robert Bruce; Baliol had lands in France, Bruce in England, but both of them had great possessions and allies in Scotland. But before I enter upon their disputes, that all things may be more clear to the reader, I must begin with them a little higher.

The three last kings of Scotland, William, and the two Alexanders, the second and the third, and their whole offspring being extinct, there remained none who could lawfully claim the kingdom but the posterity of David, Earl of Huntingdon. This David was brother to king William, and great-uncle to Alexander III. He married Maud in England, daughter to the earl of Chester, by whom he had three daughters; the eldest named Margaret, married Alan of Galloway, a man very powerful amongst the Scots: the second was matched to Robert Bruce, surnamed the noble, of high English descent, and of a large estate: the third was married to Henry Hastings, an Englishman also, whose posterity most deservedly enjoy the earldom of Huntingdon to this very day. But to let him pass, (because he never put in for the kingdom, I shall confine my discourse to the stock, cause, and ancestry of Baliol and Bruce only. Whilst William was king of Scotland, Fergus, prince of Galloway, left two sons, Gilbert and Ethred; William, to prevent the seeds of discord betwixt the two brothers, divided their father's inheritance equally betwixt them: Gilbert, the eldest, took this highly amiss, and conceived an hatred against his brother, as his rival, and against the king too, for his unequal distribution. Afterwards, when the king was prisoner in England, Gilbert, being then freed from the fear of the law, discovered his long-concealed hatred against them both. As for his brother, he seized him unawares, pulled out his eyes, cut out his tongue, and so (not contented with putting him to a simple death) he put him to grievous and excessive tortures before he died; and he himself joined with the English, and preyed upon his neighbours and countrymen, as if they had been in an enemy's country, for he wasted all with fire and sword. And unless Rolland, the son of Ethred, had gathered a band of countrymen, who remained firm to the king, together, to resist his attempts, he had either wasted the neighbouring countries, or drawn them all over to his party. This Rolland was a forward young man, of great abilities both of body and mind; he not only

abated the fury of his uncle, but always fought valiantly, and often successfully with the English, as he met them, whilst he repressed their plunderings, or as he himself spoiled their lands. At last, when the king was restored, Gilbert, by the mediation of his friends, got a pardon upon promise of a sum of money for the wrongs he had done, and giving pledges to that purpose: but Gilbert dying a few days after, those who were accustomed to blood and plunder under him, and who had given themselves up to the protection of the king of England, either out of the inconstancy of their dispositions, or for fear of punishment; and being stung by the remorse of an accusing conscience, which pricked them for what they had formerly done, took up arms again under the command of Kilpatrick, Henry Kennedy and Samuel, who before had been assistants and companions to Gilbert in his wickedness. Rolland was sent with an army against them, and, after a great fight, he slew their chief leaders, and a great part of the common soldiers. They who escaped fled to one Gilcolumb, a captain of the freebooters and robbers, who had made great spoil in Lothian, and much damaged the nobles and richer sort, some of whom he killed. Thence marching into Galloway, he undertook Gilbert's cause, when every body else looked upon it as desperate. He not only claimed his lands as his own, but carried himself high, and as if he was the lord of all Galloway. At last Rolland fought with him on the first of October, about three months after Gilbert's forces were defeated, and slew him, and the greatest part of his army, with very few of his own side slain; amongst whom was found his own brother, a young man of experienced bravery.

The English king being troubled at the overthrow of these men, who had put themselves under his protection the year before, marched with an army to Carlisle; thither also came Rolland, being reconciled to the king by the mediation of William, where he refuted the calumnies of his enemies, and shewed that he had done nothing maliciously or causelessly against his own and the public's enemy; upon which he was honourably dismissed by the king. William, the Scots king, returned home, and calling to mind the constancy of Rolland's father Ethred, and how many noble exploits he had performed for the good of the public, he gave him all Galloway: and besides, he bestowed Carrick on the son of Gilbert, though his father had not deserved so well of him. William of Newberry, the English writer, records these things as done in the year 1183. Rolland took to wife the sister of William Morvill, who was lord high constable in Scotland; who dying without issue, Rolland enjoyed that great station as hereditary to him and his family. He had a son called Alan, who for his assistance afforded to John, king of England, in his Irish war, was rewarded by him with large possessions; on which account, by the permission of William of Scotland, he was a feudatory to the English king, and swore fealty to him. This Alan took to wife Margaret, the eldest daughter of David, earl of

Huntingdon: by her he had three daughters: the eldest, Dornagilla, he married to John Baliol, the father of John Baliol, who was king of Scotland for some years. But Robert Bruce, who married Isabella, David's second daughter, had by her a son Robert, who came to be earl of Carrick for the reason following: Martha, countess of Carrick, being marriageable, and the only heiress of her father, who died in the holy war, turned her eyes upon Robert Bruce, the most beautiful young man of his time, as he was hunting; she courtcously invited him, and, in a manner, compelled him into her castle, which was near at hand: being come thither, their age, beauty, kindred, and manners, easily procuring mutual love; they were quickly married in a private way. When the king was informed of the matter, he was much offended with them both, because the right of bestowing the lady in marriage lay in him; yet, by the mediation of friends, he was afterwards reconciled to them: of this marriage, Robert Bruce was born, who was afterwards king of Scotland.

But enough by way of preface. I come now to the matter in hand, and the competitors of the kingdom: they were Dornagilla, the grandchild of David of Huntingdon, by his eldest daughter; and Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, great-grandson of the said David, by his second daughter. Dornagilla's pretensions were grounded on the custom of the country, whereby he or she that was nearer in degree had a better right: Robert Bruce insisted on the sex, that, in a like degree of propinquity, males ought to be preferred before females; so that he denied it to be just, that as long as a grandson was alive, a granddaughter should inherit her ancestors estate; and though sometimes the contrary may be practised in the inheritances of private men, yet the matter is far otherwise in those estates which are called feuds, and in the succession of kingdoms. And of this there was urged a late example in the controversy concerning the dutchy of Burgundy; which the earl of Nevers, who married the granddaughter of the last duke by his eldest son, claimed, yet the inheritance was adjudged to a younger son of the duke's brother; so that Robert contended that he was nearer in degree, as being a grandson, than John Baliol, who was but a great grandson: as for Dornagilla, with whom he stood in equal degree, he was to be preferred before her, as a male before a female.

The Scots nobles could not decide this controversy at home, for, by reason of the power of both parties, the land was divided into two factions: for Baliol, by his mother, held all Galloway, a very large country; and besides, he was allied to the Cuminián family, which was the most powerful next the king's; for Mary, the sister of Dornagilla, had married John Cumin. Robert, on the other side, in England, possessed Cleveland; in Scotland, Annandale and Garioch; and by his son, earl of Carrick (who was afterwards king) was related to many noble families, and he was also very gracious with his own people; so that for these reasons, the controversy

could not be decided at home; nay, if it should have been equitably determined, yet there was not a sufficient party in Scotland to compel both sides to stand to the sentence; and, therefore, Edward of England was almost unanimously chosen to be the judge of this important point: neither was there any doubt made of his fidelity, as being born of such a father, as the late king of Scotland had experienced to be, both a loving father-in-law to him, and a just guardian too; and, on the contrary, the English king had received a late and memorable testimony of the Scots good-will towards him, in that they so readily consented to the marriage of his son with their queen.

Edward, as soon as he arrived at Berwick, sent letters to the peers and governors of Scotland to come to him, protesting that he summoned them to appear before him, not as subjects before their lord or supreme magistrate, but as friends before an arbitrator, chosen by themselves. First of all, he required an oath of the competitors to stand to his sentence; in the next place, he required the same oath of the nobles and commissioners, to obey him as king, whom he, upon his oath, should declare so to be; and for this, he desired there should be given to him a public scroll, or record, signed by all the estates, and each one's seal affixed to it. This being done, he chose, of the most prudent of all the estates, twelve Scots, and adjoined twelve Englishmen to them; he enjoined them all upon oath, to judge rightly and truly, according to their consciences, in the case. These things were managed openly and above-board, which, in appearance, were honest and taking with the people; but his private design was carried on very secretly, and amongst but a few, how he might bring Scotland under his subjection: the thing was thought feasible enough, for that the kingdom was divided into two factions; but to make the way more intricate, and to cover the fraud the deeper from every eye, he raised up eight other competitors, besides Bruce and Baliol, that he might more easily bring over one, or more, to his party, when so great a number were contending.

And lest so great a matter might seem to be determined unadvisedly, he consulted with those who were most eminent in France for piety and prudence, and most learned in the law. Neither did he doubt, but that (as that class of men are never always of one opinion) he should fish something out of their answers, which might make for his purpose: the new competitors, seeing no grounds for their pretensions, quickly desisted of their own accord; but as he governed and influenced the lawyers as he pleased, a false, or made case, was thus stated and propounded to them: "A certain king, that was never wont to be crowned, nor anointed, but only to be placed in a kind of seat, and declared king by his subjects, yet not a king so free, but that he was under the patronage of another king, whose homage or beneficiary he professed to be; such a king died without children: two of his kinsmen begot by Sempronius

“us, great-uncle of the deceased king, claim the inheritance, viz. “‘Titius’ great-grandson by the eldest daughter of Sempronius, “and Seius, grandson by his younger daughter; now, which of “these is to be preferred in an estate, whose nature and essence “it is, that it never can be divided?” The case being propounded in almost these very words, they all generally answered, “That if “any law or custom obtained in the kingdom, which was sued for, “they were to be guided by, and stand to it; if not, then they “must be guided by him, under whose patronage they were, because, in judging of freehold, custom doth not ascend, *i. e.* the “usage and sentence of the superior, is to be a law to the inferior, but not on the contrary.” It would be too prolix a task to reckon up particularly all the opinions, but, in brief, almost all of them answered very doubtfully and uncertainly, as to the right of the competitors; but, as the case was falsely stated, they all gave the supreme power of judgment in the controversy, to Edward. Thus the matter was made more intricate and involved than before; so that the next year they met again at Norham. There Edward, by agents fit for his purpose, gently tried the minds of the Scots, whither they would willingly put themselves under the power and jurisdiction of the English, which (as was alleged) their ancestors had frequently done: but when they all unanimously refused so to do, he called to him the competitors whom he himself had set up; and, by great promises, extorted from them to swear homage to him; and next, he persuades the rest to remove the assembly to Berwick, as a more convenient place. There he shut up the twenty-four judges, elected as before, in a church, without any body else amongst them, commanding them to give their judgments in the case: and no man was to have access to them, till they had unanimously come to a conclusion. But they being slow in their proceedings, he every now and then went in alone to them, and by discoursing sometimes one, and sometimes another, found a great majority of this opinion; that the right lay on Baliol’s side, though he was inferior in favour and popularity: and finding this, he went to Bruce, whom, because he was legally cast by their votes, he thought he might more easily persuade to close in with his design, and promised him the crown of Scotland, if he would put himself under the patronage of the king of England, and be subject to his authority. Bruce answered him ingenuously, “That he “was not so eager of a crown, as to accept of it, by abridging the “liberty his ancestors had left him.” Upon that reply, he was dismissed; and he sent for John Baliol, who, being more desirous of a kingdom, than of honest methods to come by it, greedily accepted the condition offered him by Edward.

JOHN BALIOL, *the ninety-sixth king.*

ACCORDINGLY John Baliol was declared king of Scotland, six years and nine months after the death of Alexander. The rest of the Scots, studious of the public tranquillity, led him to Scoon, and there crowned him, according to custom, and all swore fealty to him, except Bruce. He being thus made king by the English, and accepted by the Scots, and standing now in full security of the kingdom, came to Edward, who was at Newcastle upon Tyne, and, according to his promise, swore fealty to him; and the noblemen who were his attendants, not daring to contradict two kings, especially being so far from home, did the same: as soon as the rest of the nobility heard of it, they were extremely offended, but conscious of their want of power, they dissembled their anger for the present.

However, soon after an occasion was offered them to shew it. Macduff, earl of Fife, (who in the time of the interregnum was one of the six governors of the land,) was murdered by the Abernethians, which was then a rich and potent family in Scotland; and the earl's brother being accused by them, and brought to his answer before the assembly of the estates, the king gave sentence in favour of the Abernethians. So that Macduff was dispossessed of the land which was in controversy betwixt them. This made him doubly displeased at the king: first, on the account of his own wrong; and, secondly, because he had not severely punished the murderers of his brother. Upon this, he appealed to the king of England, and desired that Baliol might answer the matter before him. Accordingly the cause was removed to London; and as Baliol was casually sitting by Edward in the parliament house, and when he was called, would have answered by a procurator, it was denied him; so that he was forced to rise from his seat, and to plead his cause from a lower place. He bore the affront silently for the present, not daring to do otherwise; but as soon as ever he was dispatched from thence, such flames of anger burnt in his breast, that his thoughts were wholly taken up how to reconcile his own subjects, and how to be even with Edward. While his mind was taken up with these meditations, it happened commodiously for him, that a new discord arose betwixt the French and English, which presently after broke out into a war. Ambassadors were sent to the assembly of estates in Scotland from both kings. The errand from France was, to renew the old league with their new king. That from England was, upon the account of their late oath to Edward, to receive aids from them in the war that was commenced: both embassies were referred to the council of the estates, where the nobles, prone to rebellion, gave it as their opinion, that the request of the French was just, and the demand of the English unjust: for the league made by universal consent with the French, more than 500 years before, had been kept sacred and inviolable to that very day, in regard of

the justice and utility it carried along with it; but this late subjection and surrendering themselves to the English, was extorted from the king against his will; and though (as they proceeded to allege) he had been willing, yet it did oblige neither king nor kingdom, it being made by the king alone, without the consent of the estates; whereas the "king might not act any thing relating to the public state of the kingdom without, much less against, the advice of the estates." Therefore a decree was made, that ambassadors should be sent into France to renew the ancient league; and that a wife should be desired for Edward Baliol, son to John, out of the king's royal issue. Another embassy was also sent into England, to signify, that the king of Scots revoked the surrendering of the kingdom and himself, which he had been forced unjustly to make; and that, renouncing Edward's friendship for that cause, and also for the many and innumerable other wrongs which that king had done to him and his, he was resolved to assert his ancient liberty. No man of any eminence would carry this message to Edward, because he was by nature fierce, and rendered more so by the indulgence of fortune, which made him almost forget himself: at last a certain monk, or, as some say, the abbot of Aberbrothoc carried letters of that import to Edward, but was forced to undergo a great many affronts for his pains, and had much ado to escape home, protected more by his being of little distinction, and so undervalued, than by the reverence that is due to an ambassador.

In the mean time, Edward had made a truce with the French for some months, hoping that before it was at an end, he might subdue the Scots, by taking them unprovided; and, therefore, he sent his fleet designed for France against Scotland, commanding them to stop all provisions from being carried into Berwick, where he heard there was a very strong garrison. The Scots fought with this fleet in the mouth of the river, they destroyed and took eighteen of their ships, and put the rest to flight. Edward, who was naturally of an impetuous and fierce disposition, fired by this loss, breathed nothing but fury and revenge. He summons Baliol once and again to appear; and he himself levies a great army, and comes to Newcastle upon Tyne. There again likewise he puts forth an edict for John to appear, in order to clear himself from the crimes objected against him in a legal way. But neither he, nor any for him, appearing at the day appointed, he added policy to force, and sent for Bruce, and promised him the kingdom, if he would do his endeavour faithfully to depose and drive out Baliol. To do which, said he, you need be at little labour or cost, only write letters to your friends, that either they would desert the king's party, or not be hearty or forward if it came to a battle. He, by long marches, came to Berwick, but not being able to carry it, by reason of the strength of the garrison, he pretended to quit the siege, and caused a rumour to be spread abroad, by some Scots of Bruce's party, that he despaired of taking it; and that Baliol was coming with a great

army to raise the siege, and was now near at hand; upon which, all the chief men of the garrison making haste out to receive him honourably, in promiscuous multitudes, horse and foot together; Edward sent in some horse upon them, who trode down and killed some, others they divided from their company, and seizing on the nearest gate, they entered the town. Edward followed with his foot, and made a miserable slaughter of all sorts of people. Above 7000 of the Scots are reported to have been there slain, amongst them were the flower of the nobility of Lothian and Fife.

Though I had resolv'd from the beginning not to interrupt the series of my history with any unnecessary digression, yet I cannot forbear to expose that unbridled liberty of evil-speaking, which Richard Grafton, who lately compiled the history of England, assumes to himself; that so they who read what I here write, may judge what credit is to be given to him. For he says, that Hector Boetius writes in his 14th book, chap. 2. that so much blood was spilt upon this occasion, that rivers of it running through the city, might have driven a water-mill for two days. To which I say, that Boetius never divided his book into chapters; and besides, what Grafton affirms is no where found in his writings. But to leave this unlearned and shameless relator, I return to Edward; who, elevated with the exorbitant power and numbers of his army, sent part of it to besiege Dunbar; and a few days after, the castle of Berwick, despairing of any relief, was surrendered to him. Afterwards he joined all his forces together at Dunbar, to fight the Scots army, who came to relieve it: it was a very fierce engagement; and the victory inclining to the English, the chief of the nobility fled into the castle; but the castle was soon taken, either by the treachery of Richard Seward, the governor, or else because he had not provisions for so great a multitude as were shut up in so narrow a compass. Edward was very cruel to all the prisoners. Some cast the blame of this overthrow upon Robert Bruce the elder, in that his friends giving back in the battle, it struck a terror into the rest. Our writers do farther unanimously agree in affirming, that when Bruce demanded of Edward the kingdom of Scotland, according to his promise as a reward of his pains that day) that Edward should answer in French, of which language he was a perfect master, "What, have I nothing else to do but to win kingdoms for you?" When Dunbar and some other castles near the borders of England were taken, the surrender of Edinburgh and Stirling followed soon after. Next Edward passing over the Forth, directed his march to Forfar, where Baliol was at that time. When he was come as far as Montrose, without any opposition, Baliol, by the persuasion of John Cumin of Strathbogy, came to him, and surrendered to him, himself and the kingdom. Baliol was sent into England by sea, and Edward, returning to Berwick, issued out a strict and severe summons to all the Scots nobility to attend him there; after they came, he compelled them to swear fealty to him. But William Douglas, an eminent

man, both on the account of his family, and also his own famous exploits, obstinately refusing to do it, was thrown into prison, where, in a few years, he died.

Thus Edward, having succeeded in his expedition according to his mind, left John Warren, earl of Surrey, as viceroy, behind him; and Hugh Cressingham, lord chief justice, or treasurer, and so returned to London. There he committed John Baliol to prison, in the fourth year of his reign; but a while after, at the intreaty of the pope, and upon his promise that he would raise no farther tumults in Scotland, he was sent into France, his son Edward being retained as an hostage. King Edward having prepared all things for the French war, (which by reason of the commotions in Scotland he had deferred), now sails thither with great forces. The Scots, by reason of his absence, being raised to some hopes of their liberty, chose twelve men to govern the state. By the unanimous consent of these, John Cumin, earl of Buchan, was sent into England, with a good force; and in regard the English, who were scattered in garrisons over Scotland, dared not stir, he ravaged Northumberland without controul, and laid siege to Carlisle, but to no purpose; though this expedition did somewhat encourage the before crest-fallen Scots, and hindered the English from doing them farther mischief, yet it contributed little or nothing to the main chance, in regard that all the places of strength were possessed by the enemy's garrisons; but when the nobility had neither strength nor courage to undertake great matters, there presently started up one William Wallace, a man of an ancient and noble family, but one that had lived poorly and meanly, as having little or no estate; yet this man performed, in this war, not only beyond the expectation, but even the belief, of all the common people; for he was bold of spirit, and strong of body, and, when he was but a youth, had slain a young English nobleman, who proudly domineered over him. For this act he was forced to run away, and to skulk up and down in several places for some years, to save his life: and by this course of living, his body was hardened against wind and weather, and his mind was likewise fortified to undergo greater hazards, when time should serve. At length, growing weary of such a wandering unsettled way of living, he resolved to attempt something, though never so hazardous; and therefore gathered a band of men together, of like fortune with himself, and did not only assault single persons, but even greater companies, though with an inferior number, and accordingly slew several persons, in divers places. He played his pranks with as much dispatch as boldness, and never gave his enemy any advantage to fight him, so that in a short time his fame was spread over both nations, by which means many came into him, moved by the likeness of their cause, or with the like love of their country; thus he made up a considerable army. And seeing the nobles were sluggish in their management of affairs, either out of fear or dulness,

this Wallace was proclaimed regent by the tumultuous band that followed him, and so he managed things as a lawful magistrate, and the substitute of Baliol. He accepted of this name, not out of any ambition, or desire to rule, but because it was a title given him by his countrymen out of pure love and good will. The first remarkable exploit he performed with his army was at Lanark, where he slew the major-general of that precinct, being an Englishman of good descent. Afterwards he took and demolished many castles, which were either slenderly fortified, or meanly garrisoned, or else guarded negligently; which petty attempts so encouraged his soldiers, that they shunned no service, not even the most hazardous, under his conduct, as having experienced, that his boldness was guided by counsel, and that his counsel was seconded by success.

When the report of these things was spread abroad, and perhaps somewhat enlarged beyond the bounds of truth, out of men's respect and favour to him, all that wished well to their country, or were afraid of their own particular conditions, flocked in to him, as judging it fit to take opportunity by the forelock; so that in a short time he reduced all the castles which the English held on the other side of the Forth, though well fortified, and more carefully guarded, for fear of his attacks. He took and demolished the castles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose; he seized on Dunoter by surprise, and garrisoned it; he entered Aberdeen, (which the enemy, for fear of his coming, had plundered and burnt) even whilst it was in flames; but a rumour being scattered abroad, concerning the coming of the English army, prevented his taking the castle; for he determined to meet them at the Forth, not being willing to hazard a battle but in a place that he himself should pitch upon. Edward of England, when he went into France, (as I said before), put English garrisons into all the strong holds of Scotland; and, besides having many of the Scots faithful to him, and unfaithful to their country, he banished and sent the Scots nobility, whom he most suspected, into the heart of England till his return. Amongst these was John Cumin, lord, or petty king of Badenach; and Allan Logan, a man fit both for the cabinet and the field; and having settled matters after this sort, he was so far from fearing any insurrection in Scotland, that he carried all his army over along with him. But hearing of the many exploits of Wallace, he thought there was need of a greater force to suppress him; yet that the expedition was not worthy of a king neither, (as being only against a roving thief, for so the English called Wallace), and therefore he writes to Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, and William Latimer, that they should speedily levy what forces they could out of the neighbouring parts, and join themselves with Cressingham, who as yet remained in Scotland, to subdue the rebellious Scots. Thomas Walsingham writes, that the earl of Warren was general in this expedition. But Wallace, who was then

besieging the castle of Coupar, in Fife, lest his army, which he had increased against the approach of the English, should be idle, the English being near at hand, marched directly to Stirling. The river Forth, no where almost fordable, may be there passed over by a bridge of wood, though it be increased by the addition of other rivers, and by the coming in of the tide. There Cressingham passed over with the greatest part of his army; but the bridge, either having its beams loosened and disjointed on purpose, by the skill of the architect, (as our writers say it was), that so it might not be able to bear any great weight; or else, being overladen with the heavy burden of so many horse, foot, and carriages as passed over, was broken, and so the march of the rest of the English was obstructed: the Scots set upon those, who were passed over, before they could put themselves into a posture, and having slain their captain, drove the rest back into the river; the slaughter was so great, that they were almost all either killed or drowned. Wallace returned from this fight to the besieging of castles; and in a short time he so changed the scene of affairs, that he left none of the English in Scotland, but such as were made prisoners. This victory (wherein none of any distinction among the Scots fell, save Andrew Murray, whose son, some years after, was regent of Scotland) was obtained on the thirteenth of September, in the year of Christ 1297. Some say, that Wallace was called off to this fight, not from the siege of Coupar, but of Dundee, whither he also returned after the fight: so John Major, and some books found in monasteries, do relate.

By means of these combustions the fields lay untilld, insomuch that after that overthrow a famine ensued, and a pestilence after the famine; from whence a greater destruction was apprehended than from the war: Wallace, to prevent this mischief as much as he could, called together all such as were fit for service, to appear at a certain day, with whom he marched into England; thinking with himself, that their bodies, being exercised with labour, would be more healthy; and that, wintering in an enemy's country, provisions might be spared at home; and the soldiers, who were in much want, might reap some fruit of their labours in a rich country, and flourishing by reason of its continued peace. When he was entered into England, no man dared to attack him, so that he staid there from the first of November, to the first of February; and having refreshed and enriched the soldiers with the fruits and spoils of the enemy, he returned home with great renown. This expedition, as it increased the fame and authority of Wallace amongst the vulgar, so it heightened the envy of the nobles against him in a great degree. For his praise seemed a tacit reproaching of them, who being men of great power and wealth, either out of slothfulness durst not, or out of treachery would not, attempt what he that was a mean man, and destitute of all the advantages of fortune, had not only valiantly undertook, but also successfully

performed. Moreover, the king of England, finding the business to be greater than could well be managed by his deputies, made some settlement of things in France, and returned home; and gathering together a great army, but hastily levied, (for he brought not back his veteran soldiers from beyond sea,) and, for the most part, raw and inexperienced men, he marches toward Scotland, supposing he had only to do with a disorderly band of robbers. But when he saw both armies in battle-array, about five hundred paces one from another, in the plains of Stanmore, he admired the discipline, order, and confidence of his enemies. So that, though he himself had much the greater force, yet he durst not put it to the hazard of a battle, against such a veteran and so experienced a captain, and against soldiers inured to all hardships, but turned his ensigns, and marched slowly back: Wallace on the other hand durst not follow him, for fear of ambuscades, but kept his army within their trenches. Having thus got the victory, though bloodless, over so puissant a king, his enemies were so much the more enraged against him, and caused rumours to be scattered up and down, "that Wallace did openly affect a supreme or tyrannical power;" which the nobles, especially Bruce and the Cumins, of the royal stock, took in mighty disdain; for they said thus within themselves, "That if they must be slaves, they had rather be so under a great and potent king, than under an upstart, whose domination was like to be not only base, but also dangerous;" and therefore they determined, by all means, to undermine the authority of Wallace. Edward was not ignorant of these disgusts, and therefore the next summer he levies a great army, consisting partly of English, partly of Scots, who had remained faithful to him, and came to Falkirk, which is a village built in the very tract of the wall of Severus, and is distant from Stirling little more than six miles. The Scots army were not far from them, of sufficient strength, for they were thirty thousand, if the generals and leaders had agreed amongst themselves: their generals were John Cumin, John Stuart, and William Wallace, the most flourishing persons amongst the Scots; the two former for their high descent and opulence, the latter for the glory of his former exploits.

When the army, in three squadrons, was ready to fight, a new dispute arose, besides their former envy, who should lead the van of the army; and, when all three stood upon their terms, the English decided the controversy, who, with banners displayed, marched with a swift pace towards them. Cumin and his forces retreated without striking a stroke; Stuart, being beset before and behind, was slain, with all that followed him; Wallace was sorely pressed upon in the front, and Bruce had fetched a compass about an hill, and fell on his rear; yet he was as little disturbed, as in such circumstances he could possibly be, but retreated beyond the river Carron, where, by the interposition of the river, he had got

an opportunity to defend himself, and also to gather up the straggling fugitives; and Bruce desiring to speak with him, he agreed to it. They two alone stood over against one another, where the river hath the narrowest channel, and the highest banks: and first Bruce began, and told Wallace, "He wondered what was in his mind, that, being hurried on by the uncertain favour of the vulgar, he should expose himself to such assiduous and iramiment danger against a king, the most potent of that time, and who was also assisted by a great number of the Scots; and that to no purpose either, for if he overcame Edward, the Scots would never grant him the kingdom; and if himself were overcome, he had no refuge but in the mercy of his enemy." To whom Wallace replied, "I never proposed any such end of my labours, as to obtain the kingdom, of which my fortune is not capable, neither doth my mind aspire so high: but when I saw my countrymen, by your slothfulness (to whom the kingdom doth rightfully appertain) destitute of governors, and exposed not to the slavery only, but even to the butchery of a cruel enemy, I had pity on them, and undertook the cause which you deserted; neither will I forsake the liberty, good, and safety of my countrymen, till life forsake me: you, who had rather chuse base servitude with security, than honest liberty with hazard, follow, and hug the fortune which you so highly esteem: as for me, I will die free in my country, which I have often defended; and my love to it shall remain, as long as my life continues." Thus the conference was broken off, and each of them retired to their forces. This battle was fought on the twenty-second of July, where there fell of the Scots above ten thousand, amongst whom, of the nobles, were John Stuart, Macduff, earl of Fife; and of Wallace's army, John Graham, the most valiant person of the Scots, next to Wallace himself. Of the English were slain Frere Briangy, highly famed, and noticed for skill in arms and military exploits. After this unhappy fight, Wallace came to Perth, and dismissed his army, giving place to that envy, which he knew he could not resist; and from that day forward, he never acted as a general; yet he ceased not, with a few of his friends, who still stuck to him, though he renounced the name of general, as often as a convenient opportunity offered, to press upon the English.

Edward, likewise, after he had wasted all the country beyond the Forth, even unto Perth, receiving into his obedience all those who durst not, as long as he was present, make any insurrection, drew back his army. Those of the Scots, who, after the enemy's departure, did most study the liberty of their country, being a little heartened, made John Cumin, junior, their regent. He, according to the advice of the council, sent ambassadors to Philip Valois, king of France, to desire him, that, by the mediation of his sister, who was then betrothed to Edward, they might obtain at least a truce. By her endeavours, a truce was obtained for seven months, which

yet was not faithfully observed: for the English detained the ambassadors, which were sent to Boniface VIII. and committed them to prison. In the mean time, the Scots, who could neither bear the tyranny of the English, nor satisfy the cruel mind of Edward by their punishments, nor yet obtain an equal peace with him, with obstinate minds, and in despair of pardon, resolved to fight it out to the last. First of all, they expel all Edward's governors, who were English, from all towns and castles; next, they afflict the Scots of their faction, as much as ever they could. Things remained in this posture almost two years, and then Edward sent Ralph Confray with great forces to subdue the robbers, (as he called them), and to make an end of the war. They met with no opposition, but preyed far and near, till they came to Roslin, (a place in Lothian, about five miles distant from Edinburgh), and there they divided their army into three parts to make the greater havoc, and so pitched their tents. John Cumin, with the assistance of John Fraser, the most potent man in all Teviotdale, gathered eight thousand men together, and marched towards the enemy, thinking to abridge the bounds of their plundering excursions, or otherwise, if an happy opportunity offered itself for action, not to be wanting to fortune. And indeed, he met with a fairer occasion than he hoped for: for the English, little expecting an assault from the enemy that they had so often conquered, and brought so low, lived after a more straggling manner than they ought to have done in an enemy's country; so that their first camp was soon taken, by the sudden approach of the Scots, and with a great slaughter: they who escaped carried the noise into the next camp: those again, in a great fear, cried out, *Arm, arm!* and they all exhorted one another to succour their fellow-soldiers; but perceiving that the designed succour was too late, they prepared for revenge. A fierce fight was commenced betwixt them, as men eager and desirous of victory and revenge; at last, the English were routed, and put to flight, and the victory, though a bloody one, remained to the Scots; in the mean time, the third camp, which was farther off, came, and occasioned some terror to the Scots. For, in regard many of them were wounded, and the greatest part wearied with the toil of a double fight, they saw that there was imminent danger in fighting, and assured destruction in flying away. At length, by the command of the leaders, they slew all the prisoners, lest while they were busied with their enemies, they should rise up and set upon them in the rear; and arming their servants with the spoils of the slain, they made a shew of a greater army than indeed they were. Upon this the battle was begun, and fiercely carried on by both parties. The fight being a long time doubtful, the Scots, by the encouragement of their leaders, putting them in mind of their double victory, took fresh courage, and charged the enemy with such violence, that they broke their ranks, and put them to flight. This fight was at Roslin, on the twenty-fourth of February, in the year 1302.

As the victory was the more famous, being obtained by but one army over three, in one and the same day, so it mightily incensed the mind of Edward. To blot out the ignominy, and to put an end, at length, to a long and tedious war, he therefore levies an army larger than ever he had before, and assaulted Scotland both by sea and land, and made spoil of it, even unto the uttermost borders of Ross, no man daring to oppose so great a force. Only Wallace and his men, sometimes in the front, sometimes in the rear, sometimes in the flanks, would snap, either those that rashly went before, or that loitered behind; or that, in plundering, straggled too far from the main body; neither did he suffer them to stray far from their colours. Edward sought, by great promises, to bring him over to his party; but his constant tone was, "That he had devoted his life to his country, to which it was due, and if he could do it no other service, yet he would die in its defence." There were some castles yet remaining, not surrendered to the English, as Urquhart in Murray, which was taken by storm, and all the defendants put to the sword; upon which the rest surrendered themselves out of mere fear. After these exploits, the English king joined his son Edward, whom he had left at Perth; and by the addition of his forces, he besieged Stirling, which, after a month's siege, he took; the garrison in it being reduced to the want of all things; the conditions were only life and liberty. And yet, William Oliver, the governor, against the tenor of his articles of surrender, was detained, and sent prisoner to London. When all Scotland was reduced, an assembly of the estates was called by Edward to be held at St. Andrews, where all, out of fear, took an oath of allegiance to him, except Wallace alone; and fearing he should be given up by the nobility (who were much disgusted at him) to Edward his mortal enemy, he retired with a few men, into his old places of absconding.

Edward, having appointed governors and magistrates over all Scotland, returned into England; but at his departure he shewed an evident demonstration of his great hatred against all the Scottish race; for he was not content only with the taking away all those whom he feared would raise new seditions, but he endeavoured, as much as he could, to abolish the very memory of the nation. For he repealed their old laws, and modelled the ecclesiastical state and ceremonies, according to the manner of England: he caused all histories, leagues, and ancient monuments, either left by the Romans, or erected by the Scots, to be destroyed: he carried all the books, and all that were teachers of learning, into England: he sent also to London an unpolished marble-stone, wherein it was vulgarly reported and believed, that the *fate* of the kingdom was contained; neither did he leave any thing behind him, which, either upon the account of its memory, might excite generous spirits to the remembrance of their ancient fortune and condition; or indeed, which could excite them to any true greatness of mind; so that, having broken their spirits, (as he thought), as well as their

forces, and cast them into a servile dejection; he promised himself perpetual peace from Scotland. At his return, he left Ailmer of Valence as his regent, or viceroy, who was to nip all seditious attempts, if any did break forth, in the very bud. Yet a new war sprang up against him, from a part he little thought of.

There were some of the prime nobility in Scotland with Edward, as Robert Bruce, the son of him who contended with Baliol for the kingdom, and John Cumin, surnamed Red, from the colour of his face, cousin-german to John Baliol, the last king of Scotland. Edward called them often to him apart, and put them severally in a vain hope of the kingdom, and so he made use of their assistance in the conquering of Scotland. But, at last, they discovered the mockery and cheat, so that each of them desired nothing more than a fit occasion to revenge the unfaithfulness of that king. But, in regard they were rivals, their mutual suspicion kept them back from communicating their counsels one to another. At last, Cumin, perceiving that matters, as managed by Edward, were distasteful to Bruce, he spake to him, and taking the rise of his discourse from the beginning of their miseries, deplored much the lamentable condition of their country, and greatly inveighed against the falseness of Edward; withal, grievously accusing himself and Bruce too, that they had by their labour and assistance, helped to plunge their countrymen into this abyss of misery. After this first discourse, they proceeded farther, and each of them promising silence, they agreed, that Bruce should enjoy the kingdom, and Cumin should wave his right to it; but, in lieu of it, should enjoy all those large and fruitful possessions, which Bruce had in Scotland; and, in a word, that he should be the second man in the kingdom: those covenants were writ down, sealed, and sworn betwixt themselves. Upon this Bruce, watched an opportunity to rise in arms, left his wife and children in Scotland, and went to the court of England. After his departure, Cumin, (as it is reported) either repenting himself of his agreement, or else endeavouring fraudulently to remove his rival, and so obtain an easier way to the kingdom, betrayed their secret combination to Edward; and in evidence of it, he sent him the covenants signed by them both. Upon that, Bruce was impleaded as guilty of high treason, he was forbid to depart the court, and a privy guard set over him, to inspect his words and actions. The king's delay to punish him for a crime so manifest, proceeded from a desire he had to take his brethren too, before they had heard any noise of his execution. In the meantime, Bruce was informed by the earl of Montgomery, his family's old friend, of his imminent danger, who dared not to commit his advice for his flight to writing, being discouraged by Bruce his example, but he sent him a pair of gilt spurs, and some pieces of gold, as if he had borrowed them of him the day before. Robert upon the receipt of that gift, "as dangers make men sagacious," soon smelled out what his meaning was, so that he sent for a smith

in the night, and commanded him to set on shoes, on three horses, the backward way, that so his flight might not be traced by the mark of the horses feet in the snow; and, the same night, he and two companions began their journey, and, man and horse being extremely tired, in seven days he came to his castle, situate by Lochmaben. There he found David his brother, and Robert Fleming; to whom he had scarce declared the cause of his flight, before he lighted upon a flying post, who was conveying letters from Cumini to Edward: the contents were, "That Robert should speedily be put to death; that there was danger in delay, lest a man so nobly descended, and so popular as he, adding boldness to his wisdom, should raise new commotions. The perfidious treachery of Cumin being thus (as well as otherwise) plainly detected, Robert was inflamed with anger, and rode presently to Dumfries, where his adversary John Cumin was in the Franciscans church, whom he confronted with his own letters, which he then shewed him; he very impudently denied them to be his; but Robert, no longer able to bridle his wrath, run him into the belly with his dagger, and so left him for dead. As he was mounting his horse, James Lindsay and Roger Kirkpatrick, one his kinsman, the other his old friend, perceiving by his countenance that he was troubled, asked him the cause; he told them in brief the whole business, adding withal, that *he thought* he had killed Cumin. What, says Lindsay, will you leave a matter of that consequence upon an, *I thought*? And as soon as he had spoke the word, he ran into the church, and dispatched him quite, and also his kinsman, Robert Cumin, who endeavoured to save him. This murder was committed in the year 1305, on the 10th of February. About the same time also, Wallace was betrayed in the county of Lanark, (where he then hid himself) by his own familiar friend John Monteith, whom the English had corrupted with money, and so was sent to London; where, by Edward's command, he was wofully butchered, and his limbs, for the terror of others, hanged up in the most noted places of London and Scotland. Such an end had this person, the most famous man of the age in which he lived, who deserved to be compared with the most renowned captains of ancient times, both for his greatness of mind in undertaking dangers, and for his wisdom and valour in overcoming them. For love to his country, he was second to none; who, when others were slaves, was alone free, neither could he be induced by rewards, or moved by threats, to forsake the public cause, which he had once undertaken: his death was the more to be lamented, because he was not conquered by his enemy, but betrayed by his friend, who had little reason to be guilty of so treacherous an action.

BRUCE, *the ninety-seventh king.*

BRUCE staid so long, till he had obtained pardon from the pope, for killing a man in *holy church*, and then in April following,

in the year of our Lord 1306, he went to Scoon, and was crowned king.

The first thing he did, knowing that he had to do with a powerful enemy, was to levy all the force he could make; but in regard the whole family of the Cumins (whose greatness was never equalled by any in Scotland, either before or since) was against him, and also the minds of many were offended with him, for his former assisting of the English; and moreover, most of the Scots were, out of fear, willing to be quiet under the English power; yet he adventured, with a small army, to try his fortune at Methven, where he was overthrown by Ailmer, Edward's general, but with little slaughter, because his men, seeing their own weakness, fled away entire, almost at the first charge; this was done on the twentieth of July. And not long after, coming to Athol, and designing for Argyre, his intent was discovered by the Cumins, and he was forced, in his very march, at a place called Dalree, *i. e.* Kingsland, to try his fortune in a battle, where he was overthrown again, but lost few, in regard every one fled several ways as they thought fit: after that time, he had but two or three in his company; for he thought himself more secure with a few; and thus he wandered up and down in secret places, living mostly a forester's life, and in despair of any aid, if he had a mind to try his fortune. For the vulgar, upon his double discomfiture, drew thence discouraging omens, and so they all left him, only two of his old friends, Malcolm, earl of Lennox, and Gilbert Hay, never forsook him, but remained constant to him in all misfortunes. The English, not yet satiated with his miseries, send about through all parts of the kingdom, to apprehend his allies and kindred; and, besides, they commanded all the wives and children of those who were banished, to depart the kingdom at a time prefixed. The wife of Robert was also taken by William, earl of Ross, and sent into England; and Niel, his brother, with his wife and children, came into the hands and power of the English; his castle of Kildrumny being betrayed by the governor of it, to them. Moreover, his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, endeavouring to pass out of Galloway to Carrick, were taken at Loch-Ryan (which Ptolemy calls the bay of Rerigonius) and sent into England. These three were put to death in several places; the rest of the Brucian party were diligently sought after, and put also to death, and their estates confiscated. The king himself, with one or two, and sometimes alone, wandered up and down through unenough places daily, nay, hourly changing his recesses; and yet, even thus, not thinking himself safe enough from the cruelty of his enemies, and the perfidiousness of his subjects, he passed over to another friend of his into the Æbudæ, where he lurked for some months: and, in regard, he did no where appear, he was thought to be dead, and so they gave over searching for him. This report, as it made for his safety, so, if it had continued long, it would have taken away all hopes from his friends of his ever obtaining

and recovering the kingdom. Upon that account, he judged it fit to attempt something, and receiving a small force from his friends where he had hid himself, he sailed over into Carrick; and by means of his sudden coming, he there surprised a castle, which was his own inheritance, but garrisoned by a strong party of English, whom he put all to the sword; and lest his passage might be stopped by the enemy, he passed over by the bay of Clyde, and came to the strong castle of Inverness, situate on a pretty high hill by the river Ness, which, as being in a remote country, and negligently guarded, he also happily took.

The report of these things being divulged, occasioned great thoughts and courageous sentiments all over Scotland: for, besides his old friends, who came to him from all places out of their lurking holes, the pride of the English had raised him up many new ones; for they, thinking that he had been dead, began to lord it more imperiously and cruelly than ever they had done before. So that his forces being considerably increased, and that with very good soldiers, whom either labour had hardened, or despair urged to the most desperate attempts, he took all the castles in the north of Scotland, and demolished them as they were taken; partly, that he might not weaken his forces by dividing them into garrisons, and partly, that the enemy might have no harbour there. Thus, overcoming all as he went, he came into the very heart of the kingdom: John Cumin, earl of Buchan, being informed of it, gathered together a sudden company of Scots and English, even as many as were able to bear arms; when Bruce came to the forest, through which the river Esk falls down into the plains of Mearn, he overtook him at a place called Glenesk. Bruce, perceiving that the narrowness of the passages was advantageous for his men, being few in number, stood ready to fight, expecting his enemy. Cumin drew out his army in length, imagining that Bruce would be astonished at the sight of such a multitude; but when he saw that he stirred not from the place, and being also conscious of the weakness of his men, he durst not draw them forth into a place of greater disadvantage; but first sent an herald to Bruce for a truce, wherein they might treat of terms of peace: the truce being obtained, Cumin made no more mention of peace, but increased his forces as much as ever he could; neither would he trust the Scots that were with him, (the favour of many of them inclining to Robert), but craved aid from England. In the mean time, Bruce, to remove the contemptible opinion which the English might conceive of him, and to encourage the spirits of his friends, was always at his enemies' heels; here taking some, there others, and surprising their weakest garrisons; he never staid long in a place, neither gave he opportunity to the enemy to fight him.

But, about this time, Simon Fraser and Walter Logan, brave soldiers both, and lovers of their country, were taken by some of the Cuminian faction, delivered over to the English, and put to

death at London. And almost about the same time, James Douglas joined himself with Bruce's party. He was the son of William, a young man extremely well instructed in all the liberal arts, who, when he was studying at Paris, hearing that his father was cast into prison by the English, where he soon after died, returned home to receive the advice of his friends, how he might order his future conduct; but being deprived of his patrimony, and all his friends variously dispersed, in great want he repaired to William Lambert, bishop of St. Andrews, by whom he was admitted as one of his family, and kindly entertained, until king Edward came to besiege Stirling, after he had conquered almost all Scotland besides. Lambert going thither to salute the king, carried Douglas along with him, and having got a proper opportunity, he spake to the king to restore his patrimony, to take him into his protection, and to make use of his faithful endeavours in his service; some other things he also added, in praise of the young man; the king, hearing of his name and family, spoke very roughly concerning the stubbornness of William, his father; adding withal, that he intended not to make any use of his son, nor of any assistance of his, and as for his paternal estate, he could not restore it if he would, because he had gratified his friends with it, who had merited well of him. James being thus dismissed by the king, staid with Lambert, till Bruce came to Mearn; and then, that he might omit no occasion to prejudice Edward, (whose mind, he found, was implacably bent against him), he took away Lambert's horses, and some money, not without his privy, and came to Bruce; and his service was of great use to him afterwards in many sharp storms.

Not long after, both kings, almost in the same moment of time, fell grievously sick; Edward, being busy in preparations for war against Scotland, died within a few days, at Lancaster, leaving his second son Edward for his heir, who was called Edward of Caernarvon, from the place where he was born; he, marching into his enemy's country with the army which his father had recruited, sent a proclamation before to Dumfries, "That all the Scots should meet him there;" but there came in but a few, and those out of the neighbouring parts, and very slowly too. He being informed, that his matters beyond sea did not go on well, left a force, such as he thought sufficient to quell any insurrection in Scotland, and settling things as soon as he could, he went over into France. In the interim, Robert, hearing of Edward's death, was somewhat relieved, and began to hope better of his affairs; and so the strength of his mind supported his weak body: but not being ignorant, how much the sole conduct of a general might contribute to a victory, he so prepared himself for the extreme push of fortune, that he expected his enemy, and a battle. On the other side, the English king coming back more slowly than his friends hoped; John Cumyn greedy of the glory that the war should be ended by him, hop-

ing also that Robert was dead, by reason of his disease, joined to his other hardships; or at least that his sickness would hinder him from being present in the army, gathered together all the forces he could make, and marched directly towards his enemy. On the other side, Robert, to encourage his men, caused himself to be set on horseback: his very sight, though he was supported by two men, and could not stay long, yet gave such heart to his men, that they never began any fight more courageously than they did that. Cummin, who had placed the hope of his victory in the sickness of his enemy, being not able to keep his men together, neither by persuasions nor punishments, was forced to fly away in their company; many were taken in the pursuit, and all courteously used. This victory gotten at Inverary, as it recovered the king from his disease, so it was the omen of his prosperous proceedings; for, from that day forward, he succeeded in all that he attempted. A while after he marched into the country of Argyle, which he pillaged, and forced Alexander, the lord of it, to surrender; who retiring into England, in a little time there ended his miserable life in great want. The same year, on the thirtieth day of June, Edward Bruce also had prosperous success in a battle fought at Dee, a river of Galloway; Rolland, a noble knight of Galloway, was slain in the fight; Donald the islander was taken prisoner as he was flying away, and the whole country of Galloway was wasted far and near. These tumults roused up Edward of England (who was rather desirous to live in peace) to a war, even against his will; for perceiving that his affairs were ill managed, he the next year, with a great army of English, entered Scotland, and there joined a numerous body of Scots, who had not yet revolted from the English. With those forces he pierced as far as Renfrew, and then retreated, having performed no memorable act in his expedition; either because he himself was of a dull and unactive nature, or else because Robert (besides the scarcity which did then generally afflict all Scotland) had caused all the provisions to be carried away from those places, through which his army was to march, and had laid them up more out of the way. After his departure, Robert spent the rest of the year in recovering those castles which the English yet held, of which many surrendered before they were besieged, as despairing of any help from England.

The next year, which was 1310, Bruce, to be even with the English for the damage they had done in Scotland, marched twice into England with his army, and returned back^d laden with spoils, without coming to any engagement. The two next years, he recovered almost all the strong garrisons, which yet remained in the hands of the English. He took Perth by storm, and put all the garrison soldiers, both English and Scots, without distinction, to the sword; and that others might be deterred from the like obstinacy by their example, he razed the walls, and filled up their trenches. The terror of that example caused Dumfries, Lanark,

Ayr, and Bute, and many other weaker forts, to surrender. At the beginning of the spring, Roxburgh was taken by James Douglas, when the garrison was intent upon their sports and pastimes, in those revels which were wont to be celebrated about the beginning of Lent. And not long after, Thomas Randolph recovered the strong castle of Edinburgh: the Isle of Man was also surrendered, and the castles thereof demolished, that they might not again be a receptacle to the enemy. In the mean time, Edward Bruce laid close siege to the castle of Stirling, situate on a rock, which was steep every way but that one, where the passage lay up to it. It was defended by Philip Moubray, a vigilant commander, who perceiving the success of the Brucians in Scotland, and foreseeing a siege, had taken great care to store and fortify it before hand with provisions and arms. And therefore when Edward had fruitlessly spent many days in besieging it, and had no hopes of carrying it by force, that he might not seem to be repulsed without doing any thing, he enters into conditions with Moubray, "That if he was not relieved in a year, to commence from that very day, by the English, then the castle was to be surrendered, and the garrison should have liberty, bag and baggage, to march whither they pleased." These conditions much displeased the king; yet, that he might not detract from his brother's credit, he resolved to observe them. However, in regard he did not doubt but the English would come at the time appointed, he prepares as much as in so great a scarcity of things he was able, to manage his last encounter with his potent enemy. And indeed Edward, considering that he was not only dispossessed of Scotland, whose people his father had left to him conquered and broken, but that he was also forced to fight for England, had a desire to root out a people often rebellious, always disobedient, and unquiet. In order to it he levied an army, not only of English, and such Scots who adhered to them, but he increased it by supplies from his transmarine dominions, (which then were many, great, and opulent), so that his army was larger than ever any king of England had raised before. Nay, he received additional forces too from his allies beyond the seas, especially from Flanders and Holland, whom his father had strenuously assisted against Philip, king of France. They say, it consisted of above one hundred thousand fighting men. There followed also his army a multitude of baggagers, attendants, and sutlers, who carried provision both by sea and land, because they were to come into a country not very fruitful of itself; and besides which, had so many years been harrassed with all the miseries of war. Moreover, there was a multitude of such as were to set out or describe colonies, and to receive dividends of land, who brought their wives and children along with them; so that the force of so rich, powerful, and flourishing a kingdom as England was, being thus as it were, abridged and epitomised into one army, the consideration of it produced such a confidence in them all, that now

all the discourse was not of fighting, but rather of dividing the spoil. Bruce hearing of this great preparation of the enemy, prepares also his forces, far inferior in number to so great a multitude, as being thirty thousand only, but such as were inured to hardships, and the toils of war; and who now carried the hopes of their lives, fortunes, and of all that is dear to men, as it were on the point of their swords. With this army he pitched on the left bank of the river Bannock. This river hath steep banks on both sides, and it had but a few, and those too, narrow passages or fords; it is about two miles from Stirling: below the hills, before it makes its influx into the Forth, it passeth through a little leveller ground, yet here and there it is marshy. In the winter it usually runs with a rapid torrent; but, in that hot time of the year, the water was but low and fordable in many places. Bruce, by far much the weaker in force, was so much the more circumspect; and therefore he used art and policy to make the passage over the river more difficult to the English, who possessed the right hand bank of it. In order whereunto, he caused deep trenches to be dug in level places, where he fastened sharp stakes, or spikes, and covered them with some light turfs above, that so his stratagem might not be discovered; and moreover, he caused *caltrops of iron to be thrown up and down on the ground in places most convenient.

Wherefore, when camp was almost joined to camp, as being on opposite hills, only a small river between them, Edward sent eight hundred horse a little before to Stirling, who marched a little off from the camp; Robert imagining that they were sent to plunder in the neighbourhood, gave command to Thomas Randolph to follow them with five hundred horse, either to prevent the stragglers from destroying the country, or, if a fit occasion offered, to fight them. The English seeing them, desisted from their intended march to Stirling, and faced about. The fight was sharp, and continued long, the victory inclining for a time to neither party; so that James Douglas being concerned for the Scots, who were the fewest in number, earnestly desired Bruce, that he might go and relieve them. Bruce peremptorily denied him, remaining, at present, a spectator only from a hill; yet he resolved, if his Scots were farther distressed, to succour them; but perceiving the English to give back, and the Scots to get ground, he stopped his march, that so he might detract nothing from another man's praise. The English having lost but those few out of so numerous an army, were not discouraged in their spirits, and also the Scots prepared themselves for the encounter the next day, as if they had already received an omen of a complete victory.

The night, though very short, (for the battle was fought on the

* Small engines, ordinarily round, with sharp iron spikes standing out on each side of them, so that, throw them which way soever you will upon the ground, one spike or other turns upward, and wounds or pierces the horse's foot that treads upon it, and thus makes him lame and unfit for service.

twenty-third of June,) yet seemed long to both parties for the eagerness they had to fight. All the Scots were divided into three brigades; the king led the middle or main battle; his brother commanded the right wing, and Randolph the left. The English, besides a multitude of archers, which they placed on the outside of both their wings, had also cuirassiers out of France. They speeding towards Randolph, who stood on the lower ground, and endeavouring to wheel about and take him on his flank, fell suddenly into the ditches made by Bruce, where they tumbled one upon another with great slaughter, both of man and horse. They that first fell in, were slain by the pressure of those that fell upon them, and the last ranks being discouraged at the loss of the first, retreated back. This terror in some measure retarded the foot, for they were afraid of falling into the like snares. There happened likewise another accident, which, though little in itself, yet contributed very much (as such niceties are wont to do in war) to the main chance. Robert rode up and down before his army, to keep them in their ranks, having a baton in his hand; a certain Englishman knew him, and ran at him with his spear. The king avoided the blow, and as his enemy's horse, in his career, ran a little behind him, he struck his rider dead with his baton, and down he tumbled to the ground. The common soldiers highly commended the brave and perilous exploit of their king; and could no longer be kept in by their commanders, but would rush headlong upon the enemy, with such an eagerness of mind, that they were likely to break their enemies ranks, but that the English archers, who were placed in their wings, repulsed them, though with great loss to themselves; and Bruce also sent in some troops of horse, who drove them back: yet, in this action, a mistake did more prejudice to the English than their enemy did. The rabble rout which followed the camp, caused the baggage-men to mount their draught-horses, and to hang out some linen cloth instead of ensigns; thus they stood on a hill where they might easily be seen, and made an appearance of a new army. The English who stood nearest, were surprised with a double fear, and betook themselves to their heels; their fear disordered the rest of the army. A multitude of common soldiers were slain in the pursuit; some of our writers say, "That fifty thousand English fell at that fight." Caxton, an Englishman, doth not set down the precise number, but he says it was a mighty overthrow, an innumerable multitude being slain; and he did well in not being positive in the number, for it was hard to compute it, in regard the flight was so scattered, wherein more perished than in the battle. This is certain, the slaughter was so great, that the English, though they had many provocations from the Scots, yet did not stir for two or three years after. Of the English nobility there fell about two hundred, and almost an equal number were taken prisoners. The prisoners related, that the king himself began to fly first; and if he had not been received into the castle of Dunbar by the earl of March,

and so sent in a skiff by water to Berwick, he had not escaped the hands of Douglas, who, with four hundred horse, pursued him forty miles. Amongst the prisoners there was taken a monk, one of those who are called Carmelites, from mount Carmel in Syria: he was accounted a good poet for that age, and was brought into the army to celebrate the victory of the English in a poem; but they being beaten, he sung their overthrow in a canto, for which he had his liberty. His verse was rude and barbarous, yet it did not altogether displease the ears of the men of that age. Neither was the victory unbloody to the Scots; they lost four thousand men, amongst whom there were but two knights; upon this, Stirling castle was surrendered according to compact, and the garrison sent away.

About this time there happened a passage not unworthy to be related, in regard of the variety of providences in a narrow compass of time. John Monteath, who betrayed his friend Wallace to the English, and was, therefore, deservedly hated by the Scots, received, amongst other rewards, the government of the castle of Dumbarton from the English. When other forts were recovered, that only, or but very few with it, held out for the English: and because it was naturally impregnable, the king dealt with the governor, by his friends and kindred, to surrender it. He demanded the county, or earldom of Lennox, as the price of his treachery and surrender: neither would he ever so much as hear of any other terms. In this case, the king wavered and fluctuated in his mind what to do; on the one side, he earnestly desired to have the castle; yet, on the other, he did not so much prize it, as for its sake to disoblige the earl of Lennox, who had been his fast and almost his only friend in all his calamities. But the earl of Lennox hearing of it, and coming in, soon decided the controversy, and persuaded the king, by all means, to accept the condition. Accordingly the bargain was made as John Monteath would have it, and solemnly confirmed: but when the king was going to take possession of the castle, a carpenter, one Rolland, met him in the wood of Colquhoun, about a mile from it, and having obtained liberty to speak with the king, concerning a matter of great importance, he told him what treachery the governor intended against him, nay, and had prepared to execute it. It was this; in a wine-cellar concealed, and under ground, a sufficient number of Englishmen were hid, who, when the rest of the castle should be given up, and the king secure, were to issue forth upon him as he was at dinner, and either to kill or take him prisoner. This being thus related, the king, upon the surrender of the other parts of the castle by John, being kindly invited to a feast, refused to eat; till, as he had searched all other parts of the castle, so he had viewed that wine-cellar also. The governor excused it, pretending that the smith, who had the key, was out of the way, but that he would come again soon; the king not satisfied therewith, caused the door to be broke open, and so the plot was disco-

vered: the English were brought forth in their armour, and being severally examined, confessed the whole matter; and they added also another discovery, viz. that a ship rode ready in the next bay to carry the king into England. The accomplices in this wicked design were put to death; but John was kept in prison, because the king was loth to offend his kindred, and especially his sons-in-law, in so dangerous a time; for he had many daughters, all of them very beautiful, and married to men rich enough, but factious. Therefore, in a time of such imminent danger, the battle drawing near, wherein all was at stake, lest the mind of any powerful man might be rendered averse from him, and thereby inclined to practise against him, John was released out of prison upon this condition (for the performance whereof his sons-in-law undertook,) That he should be placed in the front of the battle, and there, by his valour, should wait the decision of providence. And indeed the man, otherwise fraudulent, was in this faithful to the king; for he behaved himself so valiantly, that that day's work procured him not only pardon for what was past, but large rewards for the future.

The fame of this victory being divulged over all Britain, did not only abate the fierceness of the English, but raised up the Scots even from an extremity of despair; supplying them not only with money but with glory, with arms and other implements for war. Neither did they only release their own men, who were made prisoners, either in fight or upon surrenders, but they raised likewise great sums by the ransom of the English they had taken. And out of the spoils, many recompensed and made up the losses they had received in former times, nay, and got great estates too for the future: for the English came with all their precious things about them, not as to a war, but as to an assured victory. The king having thus prosperously succeeded in the war, spent the following winter in settling the state of the kingdom, which was much weakened by so long a war, and also in bestowing rewards on the well deserving. The next spring, Berwick was taken from the English after they had enjoyed it twenty years. In the next place, he convened an assembly of the estates at Ayr, a town of Kyle. "There, in a full
" assembly, by the suffrages of all the orders, the kingdom was
" confirmed to Bruce; and afterwards, because the king had but
" one only daughter, left by his former wife, the estates, remem-
" bering what public' mischiefs had happened by the dispute,
" which in former times, had been managed concerning the right
" of succession, made a decree, That if the king left no issue-male,
" his brother Edward should succeed him in the kingdom, and his
" sons in order after him. But if he also should decease without
" issue-male, then the crown was to descend to Mary, the daughter
" of Robert, and to her posterity; yet so, that the nobility were to
" provide her of an husband, fit for her royal estate, and for the suc-
" cession in the kingdom: for it was looked upon as far more just,
" that an husband should be chosen for the young lady, than that

“ she should chuse an husband for herself, and a king for the whole
“ land.” It was also decreed, “ That in the minority of the king,
“ Thomas Randolph, or, if he should fail, James Douglas, should
“ be tutors to the king, and governors of the kingdom.” The fame
of Robert’s noble exploits both at home and abroad, excited the
Irish to send ambassadors to him, to put themselves and their king-
dom under his protection. And if his domestic affairs should not
suffer him to accept of the kingdom himself, yet that he would per-
mit his brother Edward to take it, that so a nation allied to him,
might no longer suffer under the cruel, insulting, and intolerable do-
mination and servitude of the English. The Irish wrote also to the
pope to the same purpose; and he, by his missionaries, desired the
English to forbear wronging and oppressing the Irish, but in vain;
so that Edward Bruce went thither with a great army, and, by uni-
versal consent, was saluted king. In the first year of his arrival he
drove the English out of all Ulster, and reduced it to his obedience;
nay, he passed over all the rest of the island with his victorious ar-
my. The next year, a new army was sent over from England; Ro-
bert perceiving that the war would grow hotter, levied new forces,
and made haste over to his brother. He suffered much in that ex-
pedition, by his want of provision; and when he was about one day’s
march from him, he heard, that he and all his men were defeated on
the fifth of October. The report is, that Edward, spurred on by too
much desire of glory, did precipitate the fight, lest his brother should
share with him the merit of the victory.

The king of England being informed, that the flower of the mili-
tia of Scotland attended Bruce in a foreign country, and thinking
this a fit opportunity offered him to revenge the losses of former
times, sent a great army under select commanders into Scotland.
Douglas, governor of the borders, fought with them thrice in sever-
al places, and slew almost all their commanders, and the greater
part of the soldiers. The English having been unsuccessful with
their land army, came into the Forth with a naval force, and infested
all the sea coasts by their excursions: the earl of Fife sent five
hundred horse to restrain the plunderers; but they not daring to en-
counter so great a multitude, in their retreat met with William Sin-
clair, bishop of the Caledonians, accompanied with about sixty
horse, who perceived the cause of their retreat, reproached them
very severely for their cowardice, and cried out, “ All you that
“ wish well to Scotland, follow me;” and thereupon taking up a
lance, they all cheerfully followed him, and he made so brisk an as-
sault on the scattered plunderers, that they fled hastily to their
ships; and whilst they all endeavoured to get aboard, one ship over-
laden with passengers was sunk, and all that were in it perished.
This action of Sinclair’s was so grateful to the king, that ever after
he called him *his bishop*. That summer, when all the English coun-
ties bordering on the Scots, lay desolate, by reason of want of pro-
visions, (diseases also abounding amongst all sorts of tame cattle)

as also by reason of frequent invasions; to remedy this evil, Edward came to York, but there he was not able to complete an army, by reason of the thinness of the inhabitants; so that the Londoners, and the parts adjoining, were fain to supply him with soldiers, though many of them had their passes and discharges from all military services before. At length, he makes up an army, and marches to besiege Berwick. He was scarce arrived there, when Thomas Randolph passed the river Solway, and marched another way into England; where he wasted all with fire and sword, without any resistance; nay, in some places, he could hardly meet with any man at all. For a plague, which reigned the former year, had made such a devastation, that the face of things seemed very piteous, even to their enemies. When the Scots had marched above one hundred miles, and had fired all places, especially about York, the archbishop of that see, moved rather by the indignity of the thing, than any confidence in his forces, took up arms. He gathered together an army numerous enough, but unwarlike, consisting of a promiscuous company of priests, artificers, and country labourers, whom he led with more boldness than conduct against his invaders; but being overcome by them, he lost many of his men, and he, with some few, saved themselves by flight. There was also a great slaughter of priests made there, that the English, for a long time after, called that battle, *the white battle*.

Edward hearing of this overthrow, lest his conquering enemy should make farther and greater attempts, raises his siege, and retreats to York, (the Scots having withdrawn themselves), and from thence into the heart of his kingdom. The English were busied with domestic tumults, so that a short truce was made, rather because both kings were tired with the war, than desirous of a pacification. In this calm, Robert calls a convention of all the estates and nobility: and because the changes, happening in so long a war, had confounded the right of men's possessions, he commanded every one to produce and shew, by what title he held his estate. This matter was equally grievous to the old possessors, and to the new. Valiant men thought they enjoyed that by a good right, which they had taken from their enemies: and they took it much amiss, that what they had got as the price of their military toil, nay, of their very blood, should be rent from them in times of peace. As for the old owners of estates, seeing there was no one house almost but had suffered in the war, they had lost their deeds, (by which they held their lands) as well as their other goods. Therefore they all entered upon a project that had a brave appearance, but proved too bold and rash in the event. For when the king, in the parliament, commanded them to produce their titles, every one drew his sword, and cried out, "We carry our titles in our right hands." The king, amazed at this sudden and surprising spectacle, though he took the matter very heinously, yet he stifled his indignation for the present, and deferred it to a proper time of revenge. And it was not long before an oc-

casion was offered him to shew it; divers of the nobles being conscious to themselves of the boldness of their late attempt, and fearing to be punished for it, conspire together to betray the kingdom to the English. The plot was discovered to the king, and that so plainly, that the letters declaring the manner, time, and place, were intercepted, and their crime made evident. They were all taken and brought to the king, without any tumult at all raised at their being apprehended. And because it was much feared, that William Souls, governor of Berwick, would deliver up both town and castle to the English, before the conspiracy was publicly divulged, the king made a journey thither as it were by the by. A convention was held at Perth to try the prisoners, where the letters were produced, and every one's seal known; and being convicted of high-treason, by their own confession, they were put to death. The chief were David Brechin, and William, lord Souls, of the nobility; also Gilbert Mayler, Richard Brown, and John Logie: besides, there were many others of all ranks and degrees accused, but there being only matter of suspicion against them, they were dismissed. The death of David Brechin, only, diversly affected men's minds; for besides that he was the son of the king's sister, he was accounted the prime young man of his age for all arts both of peace and war. He had given evident proofs of his valour in Syria, in the holy war. He being drawn in by the popular conspirators, never gave his consent to the treason, only his crime was, that being made acquainted with so foul a machination, he did not discover it. The body of Roger Moubray, who died before conviction, was condemned to all kind of ignominy, but the king remitted that punishment, and caused it to be buried.

Some few months before this process was made, the pope's legates, who at the request of the English came to compose the dissensions betwixt the kingdoms, not being able to do any thing in the matter, lest they might seem to have done nothing for the English in their legateship, excommunicated the Scots, and forbade them the use of public divine service, (the pope's thunderbolts being terrible in those days). Bruce, to shew how little he valued the pope's curses in an unjust cause, gathered an army and invaded England, following the legate at his departure almost at his very heels. There he made a foul havoc with fire and sword, and came as far as the cross at Stanmore. The English, not to suffer so great ignominy to pass unrevenged, levied so numerous an army, that they promised themselves an easy victory even without blood. Robert thought it dangerous to run the hazard of all in a battle against the mighty army of so great a king, but he resolved to help out the matter with policy rather than by force. He drove all the cattle into the mountains, whither the armies could not but with great difficulty ascend; and all other things of use for an army, he caused either to be deposited in fortified places, or to be wholly spoiled.

The English, who came thither in hopes of a speedy battle, and had not provisions for a long march, when they perceived what devastation was made in their own country, were inflamed with anger, hatred, and desire of revenge, and resolved to pierce into the midst of Scotland, and to ferret the king out of his burrows; nay, and force him to fight whether he would or no. For the greatness of Edward's forces encouraged him to hope, that either he should blot out his former ignominy by an eminent victory, or else should recompence his loss lately received by an enlarged depopulation: with this resolution he came in all haste to Edinburgh; he spared churches only in his march, but the farther he was to go, the more scarcity he was like to find; so that, in five days time, he was forced to retreat. At his return he spoiled all things, both sacred and profane. He burnt the monasteries of Dryburgh and Mulross, and killed those old monks, whom either weakness or confidence in their old age had caused to stay there. As soon as Bruce was informed that Edward was returned for want of provision, and that diseases raged in his army, so that he had lost more men than if he had been overcome in battle, he almost trode upon his heels with an army, noted more for the goodness than the number of soldiers, and came as far as York, making grievous havoc as he went. He had almost taken the king himself by an unexpected assault at the monastery of Biland, where Edward, in a tumultuary battle, was put to flight; all his household stuff, money, bag and baggage being taken. John Briton, earl of Richmond, was taken, besides a very great number of prisoners of an inferior rank. To wipe away the shame of this infamous flight, Andrew Berkley, earl of Carlisle, was a while after accused, as if he had been bribed to betray the English; and so he lost his life, in punishment for the cowardice of another man.

The next year, a double embassy was sent, one to the pope, to reconcile him to the Scots, from whom he had been alienated by the calumnies of the English; and another to renew the ancient league with the French. Both ambassadors easily obtained what they desired; for when the pope understood that the late controversy arose by the injurious dealings of Edward the first, who affirmed, "That the king of Scots ought, as a feudatory, to obey the king of England; and that the English had nothing to defend their claim but old fables and late injuries; and besides that, in prosperity, being summoned by the pope, they always avoided an equal decision of things, though in their adversity they were always humble suitors to him for his aid; whereas the Scots, for their parts, were always willing to have their cause heard, and never shunned the determination of an equal judge, nor the arbitration of any good men; and moreover, when they produced many grants and writings of former popes, which made for them, and against their enemies, because the Scots were always present at the day appointed, and the English, though they had

“notice given, never came.” Upon this remonstrance the pope was easily reconciled to the Scots, and the French as easily induced to renew the ancient league, only one article was added to the old conditions, “That if any controversy should hereafter arise among the Scots, concerning him who was to succeed in the kingdom, the same should be decided by the council of the estates; and the French king, if need should be, was to assist him by his authority, and with his arms, who, by lawful suffrages, was by them declared king.” Our writers cast the rise of the Hamiltons, now a powerful family in Scotland, about these times.

There was a certain nobleman in the court of England who spoke honourably of the fortune and valour of Bruce; whereupon one of the Spencers, bed-chamber man to the king, either thinking that his speech was reproachful to the English, or else to gain favour with the looser sort of the nobility, drew his faulchion, and, making at him, gave him a slight wound in the body. The man being of great spirit, was more concerned at the contumely than at the damage; and, being hindered, by the coming in of many to part the fray, from taking present revenge, the day after, finding his enemy very opportunely in the same place, he run him through; and fearing the punishment of the law, and the great power of the Spencers at court, he fled presently into Scotland, to king Robert, by whom he was very graciously received; and some lands, near the river Clyde, were bestowed upon him. His posterity, not long after, were advanced to the degree of noblemen, and the opulent family of the Hamiltons was surnamed from him; and also the name of Hamilton was imposed on the lands which the king gave him.

Not long after, Edward had great combustions at home, inso-much that he put many of the nobles to death, and advanced the Spencers, the authors of all evil counsels, higher than his own kindred could bear, so that he was apprehended by his son and by his wife, (who had received a small force from beyond the seas), and kept close prisoner; and not long after he was put to a cruel sort of death, an hot iron was thrust into his fundament, through a pipe of horn, by which his bowels were burnt up, and yet no sign of so terrible a fact appeared on the outside of his body. His wife and son were thought privy to the parricide, either because his keepers would never have dared to commit such a deed so openly, unless they had had great authority; or else because they were never called in question for so inhuman a butchery.

These disturbances in England, which were followed by that king's death, Bruce also growing old and weak in body, were the occasions that a peace was kept on foot for some years between the two neighbouring nations. For Bruce, being freed from the fear of the English, and being also called upon by his age, converted his thoughts to settle his domestic affairs. And first, he

made haste to confirm the kingdom (which was not yet quite recovered, nor fully settled, from the commotions of former times) to his only son, yet but a child, by the consent and decree of the estates. And, if he died without issue, then he appointed Robert Stuart, his grandson by his daughter, to be his successor; and he caused the nobles to take an oath for the performance of this decree. But afterwards fearing, that after his death, Baliol would renew his old dispute about the kingdom; especially seeing his heirs, because of their minority, might be liable to be injured by others; he sent James Douglas to John Baliol, then in France, with large gifts and promises, that he would cease his claim to the kingdom: this he did, not so much to acquire a new right, (because, according to the Scottish custom, "the king is made by the "decree of the estates, who have the supreme power in their "hands"); but that he might cut off all occasion from wicked men to calumniate his posterity; and also that he might root out all seeds of sedition. Douglas found Baliol far more compliable than he, or others, thought he would be; for he was now surrounded with the miseries of extreme old age. He ingenuously confessed, "That his peccant exorbitance was justly restrained, "and that he was deservedly driven out of the kingdom as unworthy to reign. And therefore he was very easy that his "kinsman Robert enjoyed the crown, by whose high valour, singular felicity, and unwearied industry, it was restored to its ancient splendor; moreover; in this he rejoiced, that they by whom "he was deceived, did not enjoy the rewards they promised themselves for their treachery."

When Robert had settled these matters according to his heart's desire, the same year, which was 1327, our writers say, that ambassadors were sent into Scotland, by Edward the third, for a pacification; in which affair seeming to act treacherously, instead of peace, they carried home war; but what the particular fraud was is not expressed, and the English say, that the war was openly declared by Robert, but they describe not the cause of it. Surely it must needs be some great and just one, or else a sickly infirm old man, when peace was scarce settled at home, and who might have been sated with his former victories, rather than with war, would not so soon have been provoked to have had fresh recourse to arms. This is certain, that the king, by reason of his age, did not manage the war himself in person; so that Thomas Randolph and James Douglas, the most valiant and the wisest men of all that age, were sent by him into England, with twenty thousand gallant light horse, but no foot at all. The reason was, that they might fly up and down swiftly, and not abide in one place, nor be forced to fight the English, unless when they had a mind themselves for the engagement. For they knew that the English would make head against them in their first expedition, with a far more numerous army: neither were they deceived in their opinion; for

the king of England, besides his domestic forces, had procured great assistance of horse from Flanders; but they and the English happening to fall out at York, some English writers say, that they returned home again. But Froissard, a French writer of the same age, says, that they accompanied the English during the whole expedition; and that, not only for honour's sake, but also for fear of sedition, they had the next place to the king's regiment always assigned to them in the camp. The king having made a conjunction of all his forces (which were clearly above sixty thousand men) marched against the Scots, who had already passed over the Tyne: now, there were two fortified towns on the borders, one nearer Wales, which was Carlisle; and the other about fifty miles lower, called Newcastle. The English had strongly garrisoned both of them, to hinder the enemy's passage over the river; but the Scots, knowing where the river was fordable, passed over without any noise, and so deceived both the garrisons. When the English were come into the bishopric of Durham, from the tops of the hills they might see fires from afar, and then beginning to understand how near their enemy was, they tumultuously cried *Arm, arm!* as if they were presently to come to an engagement.

They drew forth their army in a threefold order of battle, and marched directly to the place where they saw the smoke of the fire; the general denouncing a great penalty on him that, without his leave, should stir from his colours. Thus they wearied themselves till the evening, and then marked out a place for their camp, in a wood, near a certain river, and there they placed their baggage and carriages which could not so swiftly follow the flying army.

The next day they marched in the same order, and towards evening they were forced to abide in their tents, which they had pitched as conveniently as the place would afford, that so the draught-horses, and the foot might receive a little refreshment. There the nobles came to the king, and deliberated how they should bring the Scots to a battle. The most part were of opinion, that the English foot would never be able to overtake the flying horse of the Scots, and if they did, yet they could not compel them to fight, but in those places which they themselves judged most convenient; but, because there was such a general devastation, that they could not stay long in an enemy's country, they judged it best to pass over the Tyne with all their forces, and to intercept the enemy on their return home. And besides, the country beyond the Tyne was plainer and fitter to draw up an army in, that so the whole body of the army might be put upon service. This opinion was approved, and a command given to refresh themselves, and to do it as silently as ever they could, that they might more easily hear the word of command, and the sound of the trumpets; that, leaving the baggage behind, every one should carry a loaf a-piece; and, as if the next day they were to fight the enemy, they were to wait the event of fortune. So that their bodies being refreshed from the weariness

of the foregoing day, a little after midnight they took up their arms, and in good order began their march; but the marshes and hills, by which they were to pass, quickly made them break their ranks, and he that could, led the van; the rest followed their steps, and their march was in such disorder, that many horses and carriage-beasts either stuck in the mud, or else tumbled down from steep places; and oftentimes they cried, "To your arms!" and then all of them, in great trepidation, ran to the place from whence the noise and cry came, without any order at all. But when they came to those that led the van, they understood that the tumult was occasioned by a multitude of stags; which being roused out of the heath by the noise of men, and afraid to see them, ran up and down in great confusion, amongst the brigades. At last, about evening, the horse, but without the foot, came to the fords of Tyne, over which the Scots had passed, and by which they would return (as the English hoped) and at sunset they forded over; the round and slippery stones, which the river rolls up and down, much incommoding their horse. And besides, they were afflicted with another inconvenience, they had few or none of them any iron tools to cut down wood with; so that, after they had marched twenty-eight miles, they were obliged to lie under arms that night on the bare ground, holding their horses bridles in one of their hands; for they had no tents (having brought none with them) nor huts, nor so much as stakes to tie their horses to. Early in the morning, as soon as it was light, there fell such a mighty shower of rain, that even small brooks were hardly passable by man or horse; and besides, they were informed by some countrymen, whom they took, that the neighbouring country was so barren and desolate, that no provision was to be had nearer than Newcastle and Carlisle; one of which was twenty-four, the other thirty miles off. They sent their draught-horses and servants thither; in the mean time, they made use of their swords to cut down stakes to tie their horses to; and some shrubs and small trees to build them huts, with the leaves of which they fed their horses, and so that night they were obliged to fast.

Three days after, they that were sent to the towns, returned with some little provision, which they brought along with them: and some suttlers came along with them with bread and wine to make a gain of; but it was but little, and that not good; yet, such as it was, the soldiers were ready to fall out who should have it first. Having thus passed seven days in great want, and being also much molested with continual showers, so that their horse-furniture was wet, and their horses backs were all ulcerated, and they themselves stood armed, day and night, in their wet clothes; neither could they make any fire, by reason that the wood was green; and besides, it was wetted by the rain-water; the eighth day they resolved to re-pass the river at a more commodious ford, seven miles above the place where they were; but there also the river was swelled by reason of the showers, so that they were much incommoded, and some

were drowned in their passage. As soon as they had landed their army on the other side, a great reward was offered to him who could bring the first certain tidings where the Scots were. The two next days, their march lying through desolate places, and ruined by late fires, they had forage enough for their horses, but little provision for themselves. On the fourth day, one of the fifteen young men, who scouted out to bring news where the Scots lay, returned back, and informed them that the Scots army was about three miles distance from theirs; and that, for eight days last past, they had been as uncertain what became of the English, as the English had been what became of them. This he affirmed for truth, as having been taken prisoner by the Scots, and freed without ransom, upon condition he would go tell his king, "That they would wait for his coming in that place, and that they were as willing to fight as he."

Upon the receipt of this message, the king commanded the army to make an halt, that man and horse might take some refreshment, and so be ready for a decisive battle; and thus, in three brigades, he marched slowly towards the enemy. As soon as they came in sight of one another, the Scots had so divided their men into three battalions upon a hill, that the rocks and precipices belonging to it secured them on the right and left, from whence they might hurl down stones upon the heads of the enemy, if they endeavoured to come up to them. At the foot of the hill the English had a rapid torrent to pass, so full of great and round stones, that they could not ford over to their enemy; or, if they had so done, they could not retreat without certain ruin. The English perceiving that they could not come at the enemy, but with great disadvantage, pitched their tents; and sent an herald at arms to the Scots, advising them to "come down into the champain country, to fight for glory and empire by true valour, in an open plain;" the Scots answered, "That they would fight for nobody's pleasure but their own: that they marched into England to revenge the injuries they had received; if they had done any thing which offended them, they had free liberty to take their own revenge: as for themselves, they resolved to abide there as long as they pleased; and if their enemy attacked them, it should be at their peril." The next three days, their camps being near, and parties placed at the fords, some light skirmishes passed betwixt them; the fourth day, as soon as it was light, the watch brought word, that the Scots had forsaken the hill on which they were; whereupon scouts were sent out to bring certain news, and to follow them, if they had retreated; who brought word, that the Scots had pitched their tents on another hill by the same river, much more convenient for them than the first, where they had a wood which secured their ingress and egress. The English, who hoped that they should furnish the Scots (who avoided fighting) in a foreign soil, being frustrated in their expectation, followed them, and pitched their tents on an op-

posite hill. After they had remained there some days, it was observed, that they grew more negligent than formerly in their night-watches; either because they undervalued the Scots, by reason of their small numbers, or else because they imagined they were meditating flight. Douglas took hold of the opportunity to attempt something, and passing over the river with 200 chosen horse, he entered the enemy's camp, where he saw it was but slenderly guarded. He had almost penetrated into the king's own tent, where cutting off two cords, the alarm being taken, he killed near 300 English in his retreat, and brought his men safely off. After this, no memorable action happened, save that the English, instructed by their own loss, placed more careful watches in convenient places. At last, it was told them by a Scot, whom they had taken prisoner, that there was a proclamation in their camp, that, at the third watch, all should be ready to follow Douglas, wheresoever he should lead them. This relation struck such a terror into the English, that, dividing their army into three battalions, at a moderate distance from one another, they stood all that night to their arms; and their servants held their horses, bridled, saddled, and ready prepared, for whatever should happen in their camp. And moreover, they placed strong guards at all the fords of the river. At last, towards break of day, two Scots trumpeters were brought to the king, who told him, "That the Scots were commanded to return home; and if the English had a mind to revenge the loss they had sustained they must follow them." Upon that the English called a council of war, where it was resolved, that it was better to march back with the army at present, than to follow such straggling pillagers, to the immense fatigue both of horse and man; considering they had lost more men in this expedition by famine and sickness, than commonly fell in a set battle. When their retreat was resolved upon, many of the English, either in hopes of booty, which might be left behind in the Scots hasty retreat, or else, desirous to understand something of their enemy's affairs, went into their camp, where they found about five hundred deer, and especially stags, already killed (of which sort, not only the English kings, but even many private persons, keep great store) and great budgets, made of raw skins, in which they boiled their meat, and about ten thousand high shoes of the same skins. Moreover, there were two Englishmen, whose legs were broken, but they were yet alive. All these things being evidences of great patience in bearing hardship and poverty, confirmed the goodness of the advice given by those who were for marching the army back.

This year Walter Stuart and queen Elizabeth died, one the son-in-law, the other wife to the king; besides, the castles of Alnwick and Norham were besieged by the Scots, but without success. Preys were also driven out of Northumberland. In March, ambassadors came from England to treat of a perpetual peace, and a truce was made for three years. The next year, which was 1328,

the English held a parliament at Northampton on the twenty-fourth of June, where all the orders of estates agreed to a peace with the Scots upon these terms: "That the English king should renounce
" all right which he or his ancestors pretended to have to the
" crown of Scotland; and that he should leave that kingdom as free
" as it was at the death of Alexander III.; and that it should be
" subject to no external servitude, or foreign yoke: and, on the
" other side, the Scots were to surrender up all the lands they
" held in England as feudatories: that Cumberland and Northum-
" berland, as far as Stanmore, should be boundaries to the Scots:
" that David, the son of Robert, should take to wife Joan, the
" sister of Henry: that the English should faithfully return all
" pacts, bonds, and writings, or any other monuments, which tes-
" tified the subjection of the Scots, into their hands, and should
" disannul them for the future: that the Scots, for the damage
" which they had lately done the English king, and for the lands
" which his father and grandfather had given to their favourites in
" Scotland, should pay him thirty thousand merks of silver."

Both kings had their proper reasons why they consented so easily to these conditions. The English king, having wasted his treasure, and having been put to an ignominious retreat, and thereby lessened in the eyes of his own subjects, as well as of his enemies, was afraid that some domestic sedition might arise, and then a warlike enemy, puffed up with his late success, should come on his flank, and mightily damage his kingdom. And Robert, broken with old age, with toil, and with diseases, (for a little before his death he fell into a leprosy), and long exercised with the events of both fortunes, good and bad, resolved, if he could, to give himself up to his ease; and not only so, but to provide for the tranquillity of his heirs, in regard of their infirm and tender age. And therefore, having made peace abroad, he turned himself wholly to settle affairs at home. After the marriage of his son was magnificently celebrated, he, perceiving the end of his life to be near at hand, went almost in the habit of a private man, (for, some years before, all the grand affairs of state had been managed by Thomas Randolph, and James Douglas), and lived in a small house at Cardross, (a place divided from Dumbarton by the river Leven), and kept himself from all company, unless where some case of singular necessity demanded his presence. Thither he called some of his friends a little before his death, and made his will. He confirmed those to be his heirs which were so declared by the convention of estates. First, David his son, being eight years old; next, Robert, a grandson of his by his daughter, he commended to his nobles, and especially to Thomas Randolph his sister's son, and James Douglas. Afterwards he settled his household affairs, and exhorted them all to keep up concord and unanimity amongst themselves, and to preserve their allegiance to their king; and if they did so, he would assure them to be unconquerable by any foreign power.

Moreover, he is reported to have added three commands, or, if you will, counsels; First, "That they should never make any one man lord of the *Æbudæ* islands;" next, "That they should never fight the English with all their force at one time;" and, thirdly, "That they should never make with them a very long league." In explicating his first advice, he discoursed much concerning the number, extent, and power of the islands, and concerning the multitude, fierceness, and hardiness of their inhabitants: they, with ships, such as they were, yet not inconvenient for those coasts coping with men unskilled in maritime affairs, might do a great deal of mischief to others, but receive little damage themselves: and therefore, governors were yearly to be sent thither, to administer justice among them, by officers, who should not be continued long in their places neither. His second advice concerning the English stood upon this footing, because the English, as inhabiting a better country, exceeded the Scots in number of men, money, and all other warlike preparations; and by reason of these conveniencies, they were more accustomed to their ease, and not so patient of labour or hardship. On the other side, the Scots were bred in a hardier soil, and were, by reason of their parsimony and continual exercise, of a more healthy constitution of body; and by the very manner of their education, made more capable to endure all military toil, and therefore that they were fitter for sudden and occasional assaults, so to weaken and weary out their enemy by degrees, than to venture all at once in a pitched battle. His third advice was grounded upon this reason, because, if the Scots should have a long peace with the English, (having no other enemy besides them to exercise their arms upon), they would grow lazy, luxurious, and so easily become slothful, voluptuous, effeminate, and weak. As for the English, though they had peace with the Scots, yet France was near them; which kept their arms in use: if then, those who are skilful in warlike affairs should cope with the Scots, thus grown unskilful and sluggish, they might promise to themselves an assured victory. Moreover, he commended to James Douglas, the performance of the vow which he had made, which was, to go over into Syria, and to undertake the sacred cause in the holy war, against the common enemy of Christianity. And because he himself, by reason of his home bred seditions, or else being broken with age and diseases, could not perform the vow himself, he earnestly desired, "That Douglas would carry his heart, after he was deceased, to Jerusalem, that it might be interred there." Douglas looked upon this as an honourable employment, and as an eminent testimony of the king's favour towards him: and therefore the next year after the king's death, with a brave and fine brigade of young noblemen, he prepared for his voyage. But when he was upon the coasts of Spain, he heard that the king of Arragon was engaged in a very fierce war against the same enemy, with which he was to fight in Syria; and thinking with himself, that it mattered not

in what place he assisted in the cause of Christianity, he landed his men, and joined himself with the Spaniards, where, after many prosperous fights, at last despising the enemy as weak and fugitive, he thought to attempt something against him with his own men, and so rushing unadvisedly on the army of the Saracens, he was by them drawn into an ambush, where he and most part of his men were lost. His chief friends that perished with him, were William Sinclair, and Robert Logan. This happened the next year after the king's death, which was 1330.

To be short, Robert Bruce was certainly every way a great man, and can hardly be paralleled, for his virtues and valour, by any since the most heroic times; for as he was very valiant in war, so was he most just and temperate in peace; and though his unhopèd for successes, and (after fortune was once satiated, or rather wearied with his miseries) a continued course of victory rendered him remarkably illustrious; yet to me he seemed to have been much more glorious in his adversities. For, what a great spirit was that which was not broken, nor even weakened by so many miseries as rushed in upon him all at once? Whose constancy would it not have tried to have his wife a prisoner, his four valiant brothers cruelly put to death, and his friends, at the same time, crushed with all imaginable calamities; and they who escaped with their lives were exiled, and lost all their estates? As for himself, he was outed not only of a large patrimony, but of a kingdom too, by the powerfulest king of those times, and one who had the greatest presence of mind both in advice and action. Though he was thus surrounded with all these evils at one time, and even brought into the extremest exigence, yet he never doubted of recovering the kingdom. Nor did he ever do, or say any thing, which was unbecoming a royal soul. He did not do as Cato the younger, and Marcus Brutus, who laid violent hands on themselves; neither like Marius, who incensed by his sufferings, let loose the reigns of hatred and passion against his enemies; but when he had recovered his ancient state and kingdom, he so carried it to those who had put him to so much hardship and trouble, that he seemed rather to remember that he was now their king, than that he had been sometimes their enemy. And even, a little before his death, though a terrible distemper made an addition to the troubles of his old age, yet was he so much himself, as to confirm the present state of the kingdom, and to consult the peace and quiet of his posterity. So that when he died, all men bewailed him, as being deprived not only of a just king, but of a loving father. He departed this life, the ninth of July, in the year of Christ 1329, and the twenty-fourth of his reign.

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK IX.

THE nobles of Scotland having performed the funeral obsequies for the late king, as soon as they could conveniently, summoned a convention of the estates for the electing of a regent, where the inclinations of the public soon pitched upon Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray; and the rather because, even in the king's life-time, he had, for some years, managed that office, and the king, at his death, had likewise recommended him to the people; by his last will and testament.

DAVID II. *the ninety-eighth king.*

THE coronation of the king was deferred till November the 24th, the next year following; that so, by the permission of the pope, he might be appointed, and that new ceremony might appear with greater pomp and splendor than usual amongst the Scots. As soon as the regent was chosen, he first of all ratified the peace made with the English; afterwards he applied himself to settle peace at home, and suppress public robberies. In order to which, he kept a strong guard about him, which was ready on all occasions; so that, when news was brought him as he was going to Wigton (which is a town in Galloway) that there was a powerful gang of thieves who infested the highways, and robbed travellers in that country; he sent out his guard against them, even as he was in his progress, who took them every man, whom he caused to be put to death. He was inexorable against all murderers, so that he caused a certain man to be apprehended, who was lately returned from Rome, and had obtained the pope's bull of pardon for his offence, and thereupon thought himself secure; but the regent told him, "That the pope might pardon the guilt of the soul, but that the punishment of the body belonged to the king."

To prevent robberies, which were yet too frequently committed, by reason of the remaining contagion of the wars, he made a law, "That the countrymen should leave their iron tools, and plough-

“ gear, in the field, and that they should not shut their houses nor
“ stalls at night. If any thing was stolen, the loss was to be re-
“ paired by the sheriff of the county; and the sheriff was to be
“ reimbursed by the king; and the king was to be satisfied out of
“ the estates of the robbers, when they were taken.” There was
one countryman, who either over-greedy of gain, or else judging
that caution to be vain and frivolous, hid his plough-irons in the
field, and came to the sheriff to demand satisfaction, as if they had
been stolen; the sheriff paid him presently, but inquiring farther
into the matter, and finding that he was the author of the theft
himself, he caused him to be hanged, and his goods to be forfeited.
He restrained players and musicians from wandering up and down
the country, under severe penalties. If any one assaulted a tra-
veller, or any public officer in performing his office, he made it
lawful for any person to kill him. So that, when thirty assailants
had been slain by the companions of a certain public minister at a
village called Halydon, he pronounced the fact just, and indemnified
the actors. This domestic severity made him as formidable to
villains at home, as his valour did to his enemies abroad. And,
therefore, the English who, upon king Robert’s death, watched all
occasions to revenge themselves, perceiving that they could attempt
nothing by open force as long as Rauldolph was living, turned their
thoughts to secret fraud and stratagem.

The speediest way to be rid of their enemy, seemed to be by
poison; nor wanted they a proper wretch to attempt it; and this
was a certain monk of that class, who are brought up in idleness,
and for want of fit masters to teach them better, do too often per-
vert a good genius to wicked arts and practices. There were two
professions joined in this man, viz. monkery and physic: the first
seemed proper to gain him admittance; the second rendered him fit
to perpetrate his villany. Hereupon he comes into Scotland, giv-
ing out in all places, that as he had skill in all other parts of physic,
so especially in curing the stone; by which means he obtained an
easy access to the regent, and being employed to cure him, he mixed
a slow-working poison with his medicines; and then taking a few
days provision with him, he returned again into England, as if he
had gone only to get and prepare more drugs and medicines. There
he makes a solemn asseveration before king Edward, “ That Ran-
“ dolph would die by such a day.” In hopes of this, Edward le-
vies a great army, and marching to the borders, found there as great
an army of Scots ready to receive him not far from his camp; up-
on which, he sent a trumpet to them, on pretence of demanding
reparation for damages, but he was enjoined to inquire who com-
manded the Scots forces? Randolph, his disease increasing, and the
monk not returning at the day appointed, suspected all things for
the worse; however, dissembling his grief as much as he could, he
sat in a chair before his tent royally apparelled, and gave answer to
the demands of the herald of arms, as if he had been a man in

perfect health. The herald, at his return, acquainted the king with what he had seen and heard, so that the monk was punished as a lying cheat; and Edward marched back his army, only leaving a guard on the borders to prevent incursions. Randolph also was hindered from marching forward by the violence of his disease, but returning home, he disbanded his army, and at Musselburgh, about four miles from Edinburgh, departed this life, in the year of our Lord 1331, and the twentieth of July, having been regent two years after king Robert's death. He was a man nothing inferior to any of our Scottish kings in valour and skill in military affairs, but far superior to them in the arts of peace. He left two sons behind him, Thomas and John, both worthy so great a father.

When Randolph, guardian of the kingdom (for so they then called him) was dead, Duncan, earl of Mar, was chosen in his place, the second of August, the king being then ten years old: on which very day a sad message was brought to court, that the thirty-first of July then last past, Edward Baliol was seen in the frith of Forth, with a navy very numerous. To make all things more plain concerning his coming, I must go a little back. When king Robert died, there was one Lawrence Twine, an Englishman, of the number of those who having received lands in Scotland, as a reward of their military service, dwelt there. He was of a good family, but of a very wicked life: he conceiving hopes of greater liberty, upon the death of one king, and the immature age of another, gave himself up more licentiously to unlawful pleasures; so that being often taken in adultery, and admonished by the judge of the ecclesiastical court, yet not desisting, he was at last excommunicated by the official (as they call him) of the bishop of Glasgow. Upon which, as if he had received a great deal of wrong, he way-laid the judge as he was going to Ayr, and kept him so long a prisoner, till, upon the payment of a sum of money, he had absolved him. Twine being informed, that James Douglas was extremely angry with him for this fact, and that he sought for him to have him punished; for fear of his power, he fled into France, and there addressed himself to Edward Baliol, son to John (who had been king of Scotland some few years) informing him of the state of affairs in Scotland, and withal advising him by no means to omit so fair an opportunity of recovering his father's kingdom. "For" said he "their king is now but a child, and hath more enemies
" than friends about him, ready to revenge the injuries done them
" by his father: that the fathers of some were slain in a public convention at Perth, others were banished, and lost their estates;
" others were punished with the loss of a great part of their
" lands, and besides a great many of English extraction, who were
" deprived of the lands given them by his father, would be his
" companions in the expedition; nay, there were men enough of
" both kingdoms needy and criminal, who, either for hope of gain,
" or to avoid the punishment of the laws, being desirous of change

“ and innovation, wanted nothing but a leader to begin a disturbance. And moreover, James Douglas being killed in Spain, and Randolph, by reason of his sickness, being unfit for the government, there was not a man besides, to whose authority the giddy and disagreeing multitude would so soon submit as to his,” &c.

Baliol knew what he had spoken was for the most part true, and hearing also that Edward of England was sending great forces into Scotland; the crafty impostor easily persuaded him, who of himself was desirous of empire and glory, to get what ships he could together, and so to bear a part in that expedition. But before the coming of Baliol into England, Edward had disbanded his army. Nevertheless, the exiled Scots, and those English who had been dispossessed of their lands in Scotland, flocked in to him, and so he made up no inconsiderable army. Some say, that he had but six hundred men accompanying him in so great an enterprize, which seems not very probable. I rather think their opinion more agreeable to truth, who say, that the English assisted him with six thousand foot. And they were all more encouraged in their designed expedition, when they heard that Randolph was dead, whilst they were making their preparations; for that gave them great encouragement, as a good omen of their future success. With this navy, he came to Kinghorn, and there landed his naval forces on the first day of August. The land forces were commanded by David Cumin, formerly earl of Athol, as also by Moubray and Beaumont; and the forces of the English by Talbot. At the news of the arrival of this fleet, Alexander Seton, a nobleman, who happened to be in those parts at that time, strove to oppose them, thinking that, upon their disorderly landing, some opportunity of service might be offered; but, in regard few of the country came in to him, he and most of his men were cut off. Baliol allowed some few days to his soldiers to refresh themselves after their troublesome voyage; and then marched directly towards Perth, and pitched his tent by the water-mills, not far from the water of Earn. The regent was beyond, and Patrick Dunbar on this side, the river, each of them with great forces, their camps being five miles distant from one another. Baliol, though upon the coming in of many to him on the report of his good success, he made up an army of above ten thousand men; yet being between two armies of his enemies, and fearing to be crushed between them, he thought it best to attack them severally, and on a sudden, when they least expected it, and resolved to attack Mar, the regent, first; because it was likely, that he being most remote from him, would be less vigilant, and so more liable to a surprize. He got Andrew Murray of Tullibardine to be his guide, who not daring to join himself openly with the English, in the night fastened and stuck up a pole or stake in the river where it was fordable, to shew Baliol's men the way over: they being covered with the woods, which grew on the other side the river, came

near the enemy before they were aware; when they understood that they kept but a thin watch and slender guard, and passed the night as in no expectation of an enemy at all; upon the account of this their negligence, they marched by their camp in great silence, thinking to make an assault on the farthest part of it, where they supposed they should find them wholly secure. But it happened, that in that part where they presumed the greatest negligence was, Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, Murdo, earl of Monteith, and Alexander Fraser, kept guard. These, getting a strong party of their friends together, received the first charge and onset of the enemy very valiantly upon the edge of a ditch, so made by the falling down of the rain water. In the mean time, a great noise and tumult was made in the camp, each one hastening to his arms, and running into the battle; but rushing in rashly in no order, and without their colours, they first broke the ranks of their own men, who bore the brunt of the Baliolians; and so the last pushing on the first, fell both miserably into the ditch; many were there killed by the enemy, but more, both of men and horse, pressed to death by their fall; and the most part were so weakened, that they had hardly strength enough left either to fight or fly. There fell of the Scots 3,000, several of those that escaped fled to Perth, but they being few, and generally without arms or guides, were easily taken by the pursuing English, together with the city itself.

The next day, Dunbar, hearing of the overthrow of the other army, and that Perth was taken, and being informed also of the small number of the English forces, marched directly towards the town, with intent to besiege it, and destroy the enemy whilst they were yet in great want of all things; but the matter being debated amongst his chief officers, each one excused himself, and so they departed without effecting any thing. Baliol, having done such great things in so short a time, even beyond his expectation, was contriving how to gain the rest of the Scots, either by favour or force. And in a short time, such a mighty concourse of people gathered about him, that he now thought it a proper opportunity to declare himself king. This design was the more feasible, in as much as the greatest part of the slaughter had fallen upon the families adjoining to Perth. For there were killed in the field, besides the regent, Robert Keith, with a great number of his tenants and relations. There fell eighty of the family of the Lindsays, and amongst them Alexander, their chief. The name of the Hays would have been quite extinct this day, had not William, the chief of the family, left his wife big with child behind him. And besides, Thomas Randolph, Robert Bruce, and Murdo, earl of Monteith, William Sinclair, bishop of the Caledonians, and Duncan Macduff, earl of Fife, were taken prisoners, who being in such a desperate condition, were forced to take an oath of allegiance to him.

BALIOI, *the ninety-ninth king.*

UPON this, Baliol, trusting to his present fortune, went to the neighbouring abbey of Scoon, and there entered upon the kingdom the 25th of August, in the year of our Lord 1332. By this wound the power of David Bruce was much weakened in Scotland; yet his friends, not broken in their spirits by this calamity, took care to secure him from the dangers of war, he not being yet fit to undertake the government; for which reason they sent him and his wife to his father's friend, Philip, king of France, to be there out of harm's way; in the mean time, they prepare themselves for all events, being resolved to die honourably, or else restore their country to its former state. In pursuance of which, they first set up Andrew Murray, a person of illustrious quality, son of the sister of Robert Bruce, as regent, in the place of Duncan; then they sent messengers into all parts of the kingdom, partly to confirm and fix their old friends, and partly to stir up the more remiss to thoughts of revenging their wrongs. The first who took arms, as being excited by their grief for the loss of their parents and relations at Duplin, were Robert Keith, James and Simon Fraser, who, about the middle of September, besieged Perth; the siege lasted longer than they expected, however, in three months time they took it. Macduff, earl of Fife, who held the town for Baliol, was sent prisoner, with his wife and children, to Kildrumny, a castle in Mar; Andrew Murray, of Tullibardine, who discovered the ford over the river Earn to the English; was put to death. The *Black Book of Paisley* says, that the walls of the town were demolished, which seems more probable to me, than that it should be made a garrison, as others write, especially in so great a want of faithful friends and soldiers.

At the same time Baliol was at Annandale, very busy in receiving the homage of the nobility, who were so much surprised and astonished at the sudden change of things, that even Alexander Bruce, lord of Carrick and Galway, despairing of retrieving his kinsman David's affairs, came in to him. After this prosperous success, he despised his enemy, and grew more negligent and regardless of him. When the regent heard of this by his spies, he sent Archibald Douglas, brother to James, who was lost in Spain, that if there were an opportunity for action, he should lay hold of it. He took with him William Douglas, earl of Lithsdale, John Randolph, the son of Thomas, and Simon Fraser, with a thousand horse, and so came to Moffat; where, having sent out scouts, to see that the coast was clear, he marched in the night, and attacked Baliol as he was asleep, and put his army into so great a fright and consternation, that Baliol himself, half naked, was glad to get upon a horse, neither bridled nor saddled, and so fled away; many of his intimate friends were killed: Alexander Bruce was taken prisoner, and obtained his pardon, by the means of his kinsman, John Ran-

dolph. Henry Baliol got great credit that day, by his valour, amongst both parties, who, in so confused a flight, defending his men, whom their pursuers pressed close upon; he wounded a great many, and killed some of his enemies, but was afterwards killed, fighting bravely to the last gasp. There fell also the chief of the English faction, John Moubray, Walter Cumin, and Richard Kirk. This action was on the 25th day of December, in the year 1332.

The Brucian party were somewhat raised by these successes, so that they came in great numbers to Andrew Murray, the regent, to consult what was to be done. They made no doubt, but that Baliol sought the kingdom, not for himself, but for the English; by whom he was guided and influenced in every thing. For which reason, they reckoned the king of England their enemy; and accordingly prepared all things necessary for war, with great diligence, as against a very powerful foe. They strongly fortified the garrison of Berwick, for they thought the English would attack that place first. They made Alexander Seton, a very worthy knight, governor of the town, and Patrick Dunbar, of the castle, and the adjoining precincts. William Douglas, earl of Lithsdale, whose valour and prudence was highly commended in those times, was sent into Annandale to defend the western coasts; Andrew Murray went to Roxburgh, where Baliol kept himself. Thus their several governments being distributed at home, John Randolph was sent into France to visit David, and to make an address to Philip of France, informing him of the state of Scotland, and desiring of him some aid against the common enemy. Murray, at his coming to Roxburgh, had a sharp encounter with Baliol, at a bridge without the city; and whilst he pressed too eagerly after the English, who were retreating over the bridge into the town, he was separated from his men, and taken prisoner; by which means he lost entirely a victory, which he was almost sure of.

At the same time, in another part of the country, William Douglas of Lithsdale, in a battle with the English, was wounded and made prisoner, which disaster so troubled his men, that they were put to flight. This inconstancy of fortune divided Scotland again into two factions, as love, hatred, hope, fear, or each man's private concerns inclined him. The king of England presuming, that by reason of these dissensions, he had a fit opportunity to seize upon Scotland, received Baliol into his protection (for he was too weak to support himself by his own strength) and took an oath of obedience from him; and nothing regarding his bond of affinity with Bruce, nor reverencing the sanctity of leagues, nor the religion of an oath, so that he might satisfy his boundless ambition; he at once denounced and waged war with the Scots, at that time destitute of a king, and at variance amongst themselves. And to give a colourable pretence of justice to this war, he sent ambassadors to demand Berwick, which town his father and grandfather had held many years, and he presently followed with an army. The Scots answered the ambas-

sadors, "That Berwick always belonged to Scotland, till his grandfather, Edward, had injuriously seized upon it. At length, when Robert Bruce, their last king, had recovered the rest of Scotland, he took away that town from Edward (his father) and reduced it to its ancient rightful possessor and form of government; and that, not long ago, Edward himself, by the advice of his parliament, had renounced all right, which he or his ancestors might pretend to have over all Scotland in general, or any of its towns and places in particular. From that time, they were not conscious to themselves, that they had acted any thing against the league so solemnly sworn to, and confirmed by alliance of a marriage; why then within the compass of a few years, were they twice assaulted by secret fraud and open war? These things being so, they desired the ambassadors to incline the mind of their king to equity, and that he would not watch his opportunity to injure and prejudice a young king in his absence, who was both innocent, and also his own sister's husband; as for themselves they would refuse no conditions of peace, provided they were honourable; but if he threatened them with an unjust force, then, according to the tutelage of the king committed to them, they resolved rather to die a noble death, than consent to a peace prejudicial to themselves or the kingdom." This was the answer of the council of Scotland.

But the king of England sought not peace but conquest; and, therefore, having increased his great army with foreign troops, he besieged Berwick by sea and land, omitting nothing which might contribute to the taking of it; for having a vast number of forces, he gave his enemy no rest night nor day: nor were the besieged behind hand with them, sallying out upon them every day with boldness and intrepidity. They threw fire into their ships that lay in the river, and burnt a great many of them. In which skirmish, William Seton, the governor's bastard son, was lost, much lamented by all for his singular valour. For whilst he endeavoured to leap into an English ship, his own being driven too far off by the waves, he fell into the sea, it being impossible in that exigency that any relief could come to him. Another son of Alexander's, but lawfully begotten, who, out of too great an eagerness, proceeded too far in a sally, was taken by the English. But the siege, which was begun the 13th day of April, had now lasted three months; and the defendants, besides their toil and continual watchings, were in great want of provisions; so that the town, unable any longer to hold out, made an agreement with the English, "That unless they were relieved by the 30th of July, they would surrender it up;" for performance of which, Thomas, Alexander's eldest son, was given in hostage.

Whilst these things were acting at Berwick, the Scots called an assembly to consult about their affairs; and since the regent was prisoner at Roxburgh, that they might not be without a general, they

chose Archibald Douglas captain-general; they also voted, that he should have an army to march into England, that, by foraging the neighbouring counties, he might draw off the king of England from the siege. Douglas, according to this order, marched towards England; but hearing of the agreement which Alexander had made, he changed his mind; and, though against the advice of his wisest officers, he marched directly towards the English, and on Mary Magdalen's eve came in sight of them; and was seen both by friends and enemies. The king of England, though the day was not come wherein it was agreed that the town should be surrendered, yet, when he saw the Scots forces so near, he sent a herald into the town; to acquaint the governor, "That unless he presently surrendered up his garrison, he would put his son to death;" the governor alleging, that the day appointed for the surrender was not yet come, and that he had given his faith to stay till the time allowed by the agreement was expired; but all was in vain. Hereupon love, piety, fear, and duty towards his country, variously exercised his paternal and afflicted soul; and the English, to drive the terror more home, had set up a gallows in a place, easily visible to the besieged, whither the king caused the governor's two sons, one an hostage, the other a prisoner of war, to be brought forth to execution. At this miserable spectacle, the governor was in the greatest perplexity in the world; but in this fluctuation of his mind, his wife, the mother of the young gentlemen, a woman of a masculine soul, came to him, and put him in mind of his fidelity towards his king, his love to his country, and the dignity of his noble family; upon all which grounds she endeavoured to settle his wavering mind. "If these children be put to death, (said she,) you have others remaining alive; and besides, we are neither of us so old but we may have more. If they escape death, yet it will not be long, but that by some sudden casualty, or else through age, they must yield to fate; but if any blot of infamy should stick upon the family of the Setons, it would remain to all posterity, and be an indelible blemish even to their innocent offspring." She farther told him, "That she had often heard those men much commended, in the discourses of the wise, who had given up themselves and their children as a sacrifice for the safety of their country; but if he should give up the town committed to his trust, he would betray his country, and yet be never the more certain of his childrens lives neither; for how could he hope, that a tyrant who violated his faith now, would stand to his word for the future? And, therefore, she intreated him not to prefer an uncertainty, and (if it should be obtained) a momentary advantage to a certain and perpetual ignominy." By this discourse, she somewhat settled his mind, and that he might not be shocked by so dismal a spectacle, she carried him to another place, from whence it could not possibly be seen. The English king, after inflicting this punishment, which was not very acceptable neither to some of his own people, removed his camp

to Halidon-hill, near Berwick, and there waits his enemy's coming.

Douglas, who before would not hearken to the advice of his grave counsellors, as to the foraging of the English counties, and so averting the siege, now was inflamed with implacable rage; and withal presuming, that if after the perpetration of so horrible a wickedness almost before his eyes, he should draw off without fighting, it might be said that he was afraid of his enemy, he therefore was resolved to fight at any rate, and so marched directly towards the enemy. When he had stood a good while in battle array, and the English kept their ground, and would not come down into the plain, he placed all the Scots army below them on the side of the same hill. This his rash project had a suitable event; for as with great difficulty they were getting up the hill, the enemy with their darts, and rolling down of stones, wounded them terribly before they came to blows; and when they came up with them, they rushed upon them in such close bodies, that they tumbled them headlong down over the steep precipices. There fell that day about ten, some say fourteen thousand of the Scots; almost all such of the superior order, who escaped out of the unhappy battle of Duplin, were lost here. The chief of them, whose names are recorded, were the general, Archibald himself, James, John and Allan Stuarts, uncles to Robert, who reigned next after the Brucians: Hugh Kenneth, and Alexander Bruce, who were the several and respective earls of Ross, Sutherland, and Carrick; Andrew, John, and Simon, three brothers of the Frasers. This overthrow of the Scots happened on St. Mary Magdalen's day, in the year 1333.

After this fight all relief was despaired of; so that Alexander Seton surrendered up the town to the English, and Patrick Dunbar the castle, upon condition, to march out with all their goods: both of them were forced to swear fealty to the English; and Patrick Dunbar was farther enjoined to rebuild the castle of Dunbar at his own charge, which he had demolished that it might not be a receptacle to the English. Edward having staid there a few days, committed the town and the rest of the war to Baliol's care, and he himself retired into his own kingdom, leaving Edward Talbot in Scotland, a man of great quality and prudence, with a few English forces to assist Baliol in subduing the rest of Scotland: and indeed it seemed no great matter so to do, since almost all the nobility were extinct; and of those few that remained, some came in to the conqueror, others retired either into desert, or else fortified places. The garrisons which remained faithful to David were very few; as on this side the Forth, an island in a loch, whence the river Down flows, scarce big enough to bear a moderate castle; Dumbarton beyond the Forth; a castle situate in Loch Leven; and also Kildrumny and Urquhart.

The next year ambassadors came from the pope, and from Philip king of France, to end the disputes between the kings of Bri-

tain. The English were so puffed up with the prosperous course of their affairs, that the king would not so much as admit the ambassadors into his presence; for he thought that the hearts of the Scots were so crushed, and their strength so broken, that for the future they durst not, neither were they able again to rebel. But this great tranquillity was soon changed into a most dreadful war, and that upon a very light occasion, where it was least expected, viz. upon a difference arising amongst the English themselves at Perth. John Moubray had lands given to his ancestors in Scotland, by Edward the first; but they being lost by the various changes of the times, he recovered them again when Edward Baliol was king. He dying without issue-male, Alexander their uncle, commenced a suit against his daughters for those lands: those of the English faction that maintained the cause of the females, were Henry Beaumont, who had married one of them; and Richard Talbot, and David Cumin, earl of Athol. Baliol took Alexander's part, and decided or adjudged the lands to him, which so offended his adversaries, that they openly complained of the injustice of the decree; and seeing that complaints availed nothing, they left the court, and went every one to his own home. Talbot was going for England; but being apprehended, was carried to Dumbarton. Beaumont garrisoned Dundarg, a strong castle of Buchan, and took possession not only of the lands which were in controversy, but also of all the neighbouring country. Cumin went into Athol, where he fortified some convenient places, and prepared to defend himself by force if he were attacked. Baliol being afraid of this conspiracy of such potent persons, altered his decree, and gave the lands in question to Beaumont; he also reconciled Cumin by giving him many fertile lands, which belonged to Robert Stuart the next king. Alexander being concerned at this injurious affront, joins himself with Andrew Murray, regent of the Scots, who had lately ransomed himself from the English for a great sum of money. These things were acted at several times, yet I have put them together, that the whole course of my history might not be interrupted.

In the mean time, Baliol, in another part of the country, attacked all the forts about Renfrew; some he took, others he battered down and demolished. Having settled matters there according to his own mind, he sailed over into the island of Bute, and there fortified the castle of Rothsay, of which he made Allan Lisle governor, whom he had before made chief justice in the law. He made diligent search after Robert Stuart, grandfather of Robert Bruce by his daughter, to put him to death; but he by the help of William Heriot, and John Gilbert, was rowed over in a small vessel into the continent on the other side, where horses stood ready for him, which carried him to Dumbarton, to Malcolm Fleming, governor of that castle. Baliol having settled things at Bute, at his return took Denoon, a castle seated in Cowal, the neighbouring continent; whereupon the neighbouring nobility were struck with so great a

terror, that they almost all submitted to him. Marching from thence the next spring, he bent all his care to besiege the castle of Loch Leven; but this project seeming too slow, he left John Stirling, a powerful knight of his party, to besiege the castle, to whom he joined Michael Arnold, David Weems, and Richard Melvin with part of his army. They built a fort over against it where the passage was narrowest, and having in vain tried all ways to subdue it by force, Allan Wepont and James Lambin, inhabitants of St. Andrews, making a vigorous resistance, at last they endeavoured to drown it, by stopping up the passage of the river; for the river Leven goes out from the lake, or loch, with a narrow girt or neck, and an open rock. This place they endeavoured to stop up by making a wall, or bank of stones and turfs heaped up one upon another; but the work proceeded on very slowly, because as the heat did incommode the labourers, so the brooks which flowed into the lake were then almost dry; and the water being far spread abroad, received an increase by moderate additions. By this means the siege was lengthened out to the month of July, when there was an holy-day kept in remembrance of St. Margaret, heretofore queen of Scotland; on which day there used to be a great concourse of merchants at Dumfermline, where the body of that saint is reported to be buried. Thither went John Stirling with a great part of his men; some for merchandising, some for religion, leaving his camp, and the wall but slenderly guarded, for they thought themselves secure from the enemy; for they knew that none of the opposite faction were in all the neighbouring parts, except those few which were shut up in the castle; but the besieged being made acquainted with the absence of Stirling, and the weakness of his camp, as soon as the evening came, shipped those battering engines which they had before prepared to pierce through the wall; and whilst the watch was asleep, made many holes in it in several places.

The water having gotten some small passages, widened the orifices of them by degrees, and at last broke forth with such a violence, that it tumbled down all that was before it; it overflowed all the plains, and carried away with it tents, huts, men half asleep, and horses, with a terrible noise into the sea. And they which were in the ships, running in with a great shout upon the affrighted soldiers, added a second terror to the first; so that upon such a double surprise, every man minded nothing but how to save himself: thus shifting, away they fled, as every man could, and left all to the enemy. Allan, at his leisure, carried into the castle, not only the spoils of their camp, but provisions also, prepared for a long siege. And in another sally, made against the guards, which were at Kinross, there was as happy success; the guards were routed and taken, and the siege raised.

About the same time that these things were acting in Fife, the English entered Scotland with great forces both by sea and land. When the ships came into the Forth, their admiral struck upon the

rocks, and the rest were in great distress; so that they returned home with greater loss than booty. But the land forces pierced as far as Glasgow, where Edward called a council of his own faction, and finding that there was neither general nor army on foot of the contrary party, he thought his presence was no longer necessary; so that he returned into England, taking Baliol with him, whom he somewhat distrusted, leaving David Cumin, earl of Athol, to command in Scotland: he first of all seizes upon the large estates of all the Stuarts, which contained Bute and Arran, the lands of Renfrew, and a great part of Kyle and Cunningham; he confirms Allan Lisle chief justice of Bute, which some call sheriff, others seneschal, and commanded the neighbouring countries to obey him. Then he himself marched into another part of the country, where he reduced the counties of Buchan and Murray; and though he were now grown almost beyond the rate of a private man, yet put out all his proclamations and public edicts in the name of both kings, Edward and Baliol.

At that time there was not a man in Scotland that durst profess that Bruce was king, only a few waggish boys would sometimes do it, as it were in sport and pastime; yet Robert Stuart, who then lay private in Dumbarton, judging that something might be attempted in the absence of Cumin, made the Campbells, a powerful family in Argyle, acquainted with his proposal. Calen, the chief of them, met him at Denoon, a castle in Cowal, with about four thousand men, and presently surprises it: at the noise of which, the islanders of Bute, who were divided but by a narrow sea, generally rise, and hasten to their old masters. Allan Lisle gathered what armed force he could to stop their march; whereupon the poor people, being for the most part unarmed, and who had assembled rather in a fit of passion than by any solid advice, being struck with a sudden fear, ran to the next hill, where they found a great number of stones, which they threw down like showers of hailstones upon their enemies, who, in contempt of their small numbers, rashly adventured to attack them; the greatest part of them were thus rudely treated before they came to blows, but as they retired, they so pressed upon them, that the valiantest of their enemies, with Allan Lisle himself, were killed, and John Gilbert, governor of the castle of Bute, taken prisoner; so that they armed many of their own men with the spoils of the slain. This not unbloody victory, was followed with the surrender of the castle of Bute. When the rumour of these things was spread abroad, Thomas Bruce, earl of Carrick, with his neighbours and allies, out of Kyle and Cunningham; as also William Carruder of Annandale, who always had withstood the government of the English, with his friends and kinsmen crept out of their lurking places, and came in to Stuart. John Randolph, earl of Murray, at this time being returned from France, gave some hopes of foreign assistance; whereupon, being encouraged to greater enterprizes, they made up an army by the assistance

of Godfrey Ross, sheriff of Ayr, and in a short time drew all Carrick, Kyle and Cunningham to their party. The Renfrewans likewise came to their old masters, the Stuarts, uninvited. The vassals of Andrew Murray following their example, drew in the rest of Clydesdale into their cause. Their confidence being increased by these happy beginnings, that there might be some resemblance of a public state amongst them, they called together the chief of their party, and made two regents, viz. Robert Stuart, though a young man, yet one who, in these lesser expeditions, had given signal marks of his love to his country; and John Randolph, a person worthy of his father and brother, both eminent patriots. Randolph being sent with a strong party into the northern countries, there flocked in to him all those who were weary of the heavy yoke of the English; insomuch, that David Cumin, being amazed at the inclination and change of men's minds, fled into Lochaber, whither he followed him, and shut him up into a corner, who, being in great want of provisions, was forced to yield; but upon his swearing fealty to Bruce, he dismissed him, and withal gave so much credit to his promises, that, at his departure, he made him his deputy; nor was he wanting in a shew of zeal for Bruce's cause. In the mean time, Randolph returning into Lothian, joined his old friend William Douglas, who being released, and newly come out of England, sufficiently revenged his long imprisonment with a great slaughter of his enemies. Andrew Murray returned also, who was taken prisoner at Roxburgh; so that being officers enough, the regent called an assembly at Perth, to be held on the first day of April: where, when abundance of the nobility met together, they were not able to effect any thing by reason of the great feud betwixt William Douglas and David Cumin. The cause of which was pretended to be, that Cumin was the occasion why Douglas was not sooner released by the English. Stuart favoured Cumin, but almost all the rest stood up for Douglas. Cumin alleged that he came with a more than ordinary train into the assembly by reason of that feud, for he had brought so many of his friends and tenants along with him, that he became formidable to all the rest; and besides his disposition, which was various and mutable, his vast mind, and the noise of the coming of the English, with whom every one knew that Athol would join, increased their suspicions of him. And indeed, not long after, Edward invaded Scotland with great forces both by sea and land, bringing Baliol along with him; his navy, consisting of one hundred and sixty sail, entered the Forth; he himself marched by land as far as Perth, spoiling the country as he went along, and there waited for Cumin. In the mean time, Randolph went to John, the chief of the *Æbudæ*, but not being able to draw him to his party, he was content, in so troublesome a posture of affairs, to make a truce with him for some months; and after that, returning to Robert, the other regent, he found him dangerously sick: so that it was as bad a time as could be for all the bur-

den to be cast upon his own shoulders, and therefore he durst not fight the English in a set battle, but divided his force, that so he might attack them by parties. And hearing that a strong army of Gueldrians were coming through England to join the English in Scotland; he waited for their coming on the borders: where also Patrick, earl of March, and William Douglas of Lithsdale, met him, together with Alexander Ramsay, one of the most experienced soldiers of that age; all these waited for the said Gueldrians in the fields near Edinburgh. As soon as ever they came in sight of one another, they fell to it immediately; and, after a sharp conflict, the Gueldrians were overcome, and fled to the next hill, where there was an old ruinous castle: the next day, having no provision, they surrendered themselves only upon quarter for life. Randolph, out of respect to Philip Valois, who was their singular good friend (as was then said) did not only freely release them, but accommodated them with provisions for their march; nay, he himself undertook to be their convoy; in his march, he was taken by an ambush of the English party, and so brought to the king, who was then besieging Perth with a powerful army.

At the same time, David Cumin, who steered all his counsels according to the inclinations of fortune, being glad of the distress of his enemy, comes to the king of England, and promises him, in a very short time, to drive all the Brucians out of the kingdom; and the truth is, he was as active in performing his promise. For Perth being surrendered, and its walls demolished, the king prepared to return to England, because provision for his army came but slowly in; for all the Scots, upon notice of his coming, were advised to drive their cattle to the mountains: as for their other provisions, either to convey them to some fortified places far remote, or, if they could not do so, to spoil them altogether. Nor did his fleet, on which he most relied for bread for his army, much relieve him. For as soon as it arrived at the Forth, and had destroyed a monastery of monks in the isle Inchcolm, as it rode at anchor in the open sea, it was very much distressed by a tempestuous storm; so that part of the ships could hardly get to Inchkeith, a desolate island near adjoining. Others were carried farther by the winds; but as soon as they could recover themselves, they imputed the cause of the tempest to the anger of St. Columba, because they had through avarice cruelly destroyed a monastery of his; and therefore whatever plunder they had got, they carried it thither as an expiation for their offence; neither was any memorable act performed by that fleet the whole year.

Though these causes did much incline the king of England to return, yet that which did most hasten it, was his inclination to a war with France, which was then most in his thoughts. And therefore he marched back his army, and took Baliol with him, as if the Scottish war had been almost at an end, and left Cumin, as regent, to put an end to it. He, to ingratiate himself with both kings,

and to revenge himself on his enemy, was extraordinary cruel in his proceedings; which severity of his was the more resented, because very lately he himself obtained his pardon so easily, when he was reduced to the lowest ebb not many months before. There were scarce above three of all the Scottish nobility, whom neither promises could entice, nor dangers enforce to submit to the English yoke; and those were Patrick, earl of March, Andrew Murray, and William Douglas. These joined their forces, and marched to Kilblane forest against Cumin, who was besieging Kildrumny castle; with him they had a sharp fight. Cumin was more in number, and had almost surrounded his enemies; but the coming in of John Craig, governor of the castle, with three hundred fresh men, decided the business, and gave an undisputed victory to the Brucians. All the valiantest of Cumin's army were killed, either in the action, or in the pursuit. Many were saved in a neighbouring castle called Cameron, belonging to Robert Menzies: but seeing there were not provisions for so great a number, pent up in so narrow a room, the next day it was surrendered, and the defendants, upon their submission, confirmed by an oath, pardoned. There fell in this action, besides the general himself, Robert Brady and Walter Cumin, two of his intimate friends; Thomas, his brother, being taken prisoner, was the next day beheaded.

Upon this victory, Randolph being a prisoner, and Stuart sick, the name and power of regent was confirmed on Andrew Murray by military suffrage. For when letters came from the king of France concerning a truce, the nobles of the Brucian party being met to receive them, did, by unanimous consent, restore that former honour to Murray, which his calamitous misfortunes had deprived him of. He, after the truce for a few months was ended, laid siege to the castle of Lochindores, which was held by the wife of David Cumin: she foreseeing what would happen, had implored succour of the English, who shortly after landed some forces in Murray, and raised the siege. They also pierced as far as Elgin, (a town situate by the river Lossy), wasting all as they went with fire and sword. As they were marching to Perth, they burnt Aberdeen, and garrisoned the castles in all Merse, Dunnoter, Kineff, and Laureston. They laid a command on the six adjoining monasteries, to repair the walls of Perth, which were demolished, and then committing the affairs of Scotland to Edward Baliol, who was returned thither, they went back for England. Upon the departure of the English, and the low condition of the Scots, Henry Beaumont thought it a fit opportunity for him to stir, to revenge the death of his son-in-law, the earl of Athol, and therefore he killed all that he could take without any distinction, who had been in the fight of Kilblane, in a very cruel manner. Andrew Murray besieged him in Dundarg, and forced him to surrender, and upon taking his oath, that he would return no more into Scotland in an hostile manner, he safely dismissed him; and by one continued

course of victory, he took all the strong holds on the farther side of the Forth, (except the castle of Coupar, and the town of Perth), and casting out their garrisons he wholly demolished them. Afterwards he entered England, where he got great booty, and somewhat relieved the spirits of his soldiers, who had suffered much by reason of want in their own country. For Scotland having been harassed that year by the injuries of war, and wasted by the daily incursions of both parties, the fields lay untilled, and there was such a famine, that the English were forced to desert the strong castle of Coupar for want of provisions: and a Scottish seaman, who had been abused by them, being employed to transport the garrison soldiers by night to Lothian, landed them upon a bank of sand, which was bare when the tide was out; they thinking it had been the continent went a little way, and then met with sea again, which made them call again for the vessel, but in vain, for they all perished there to a man.

The next year, which was 1337, the English besieged the castle of Dunbar; it was defended by Agnes, the wife of the earl of March, who was commonly surnamed the Black, a woman of a masculine spirit. The besiegers were the earls of Salisbury and Arundel; the siege lasted longer than any body thought it would, so that two supplies were sent into Scotland to relieve Baliol; the one convoyed by Montfort, the other by Richard Talbot; Lawrence Preston overtook Montfort, killed him in battle, and routed his army, but he himself died soon after, of the wounds he there received, which caused his soldiers to wreak their fury, for the loss of their general, on the prisoners, whom they inhumanly put to death. Talbot was taken prisoner by William Keith, and his army routed; yet the siege of Dunbar continued still. And the sea being shut by the English, the besieged were driven to so great a want of provision, that without doubt it must have been surrendered, if Alexander Ramsay, by a seasonable though bold attempt, had not relieved it. He, in the dead time of the night, sailed by the watch, which in galleys of Genoa kept the sea-coast, and came up to the castle, where he landed forty men, and a great quantity of provisions. And then joining part of the garrison with his own men in the covert of the night, he rushed in with such a noise on the English guard, that he made a great slaughter amongst them; for they little expected a sally from an enemy, whom they looked upon as almost conquered; and the next night he returned back as securely as he came. Thus, after six months, the siege of Dunbar was raised: for Edward called back his forces to the French war, after they had sufficiently fatigued themselves, and tried all ways to become masters of the place.

Andrew Murray, his country being then almost freed from foreign soldiers, attempted to reduce first Stirling, then Edinburgh, but was glad to depart from both without taking either; however, he subdued all Lothian, and brought it under the king's subjection.

In the mean time, to give his wearied mind a little relaxation, he went to see his lands and possessions beyond the mountains, where he fell sick, and died; he was buried at Rosmark, much lamented and respected by all good men. For, in those two years and an half, while he sat at the helm of affairs, he performed such great actions, as might seem sufficient for the whole life of one of the greatest generals in the world.

After him, Stuart was made regent, till the return of David out of France; he being yet but young, got that year the better of the English in many light skirmishes, which were managed under the conduct of William Douglas; yet not without the great hazard and danger of Douglas himself, who was often wounded. He drove the English out of Teviotdale: he took the castle of Hermitage in Lithsdale, and surprising a great store of provision belonging to the enemy at Mulross, he fortified that place. He had such a sharp and obstinate encounter with Barclay, that he himself, with but three in his company, hardly escaped, and that too by the benefit of the night. He overthrew the forces of John Stirling in a bloody attack, yet he himself was a while after like to be taken by him; but recovering himself after a fierce encounter, he put Stirling to flight, slew thirty of his companions, and took forty of them prisoners; he so pressed upon William Abernethy, by whom he had been worsted five times in one day, that before night he slew all his men, and brought him prisoner along with him. Also he had as great success in conquering Laurence Vaux, a powerful enemy. At last, he went over to king David in France, to acquaint him with the state of the Scottish affairs. The next year which was 1339, Stuart, hoping to pursue his good fortune, levied an army, and divided it into four parts, and endeavoured to reduce Perth; but the English defended it so valiantly, that he was wounded and beaten off. After the siege had lasted three months, Douglas came to their assistance, when they almost despaired of success; he brought with him five pirate ships which he hired, in which there were some soldiers, and engines of war. Part of the soldiers were landed, but the rest were sent in their ships, to keep the mouth of the river Tay. Douglas himself went to recover the castle of Coupar; which being deserted by the English, was seized on by the Scots, and William Bullock, an English priest, who was also treasurer, made governor. Douglas agreed with him, that he should have lands in Scotland, in case he would come over to his party; he was the more easily persuaded to it, because he could expect no aid from England, and he did not much confide in the Scots, who were in garrison with him. This man was afterwards very brave and faithful to the Scots, and of great use to them.

The siege of Perth had now lasted four months, and would have continued much longer, had not the earl of Ross drained the water out of the trench, by mines, and subterraneous passages; so that by this means the besiegers came to the very walls, and threw

the defendants off their works, by their shot that came principally from the engines, so that the English were forced to surrender upon terms, to march out bag and baggage, whither they pleased. In a little time after, Stirling being besieged, was also surrendered on the same terms; and Maurice Murray, the son of Andrew, was made governor of the castle. Baliol was so terrified at this sudden change of affairs, that he left Galloway, where he usually resided, and went for England. Some time after, the castle of Edinburgh was taken, not by force, but stratagem. Walter Curry, a merchant, who then chanced to have a ship laden with provisions in the bay or frith of the river Tay, at Dundee, was sent for by William Douglas into the Forth: where he and Bullock agreed, that Curry should feign himself to be an Englishman, and should carry two bottles of his best wine and some other presents to the governor of the castle; desiring his leave to sell the rest of his provisions in the garrison; as also to inform him, that if he or the garrison stood in any need of his service, he would gratify them as far as ever he was able. Upon which the governor commanded him to bring some hogshheads of wine, and a certain number of biscuits, and promised him free admittance whenever he came. He, truly, for fear of the Scots, who often made incursions into the neighbouring parts, promises to come betimes the next morning.

That night Douglas, with twelve select men accompanying him, clothed themselves in mariners habit, under which they had their arms, and thus carried provisions into the castle; their men they placed in ambush as near as might be, commanding them to wait for the signal; Douglas and Simon Fraser went before, and commanded the other eleven to follow at a moderate distance; when they were let into the fort by the porter, which was made of beams before the gate of the castle, they observed, that the keys of the doors hung on his arm, they therefore dispatched him, and opened the castle gate; and then (as they had before agreed) they gave the signal to their companions, by blowing an horn; by the sound of which both they that lay in ambush, and the guards of the castle were alarmed; the one understanding that their friends, the other that their enemies were got into it. Both parties made all the haste they could; the Scots cast down their burdens in the very passage of the gate, lest the doors might be shut, and keep out their friends who could march but slowly up so steep an ascent. Here there happened a sharp dispute with loss on both sides; at last the garrison soldiers had the worst, who were all killed except the governor and six more.

It was this year, or (as some say) the former, that Alexander Ramsay (the most experienced soldier of all the Scots) made his expedition into England. Men had so great an opinion of his skill in military affairs, that every one was accounted but a fresh-water soldier, who had not been disciplined under him. And therefore all the young people came in to him, as the only school where the art

of war was to be learned. He having before made several successful expeditions into the enemy's country, though but with small forces, their affairs being now at a low ebb in Scotland, took heart to attempt great matters; and gathering together an handsome army of his tenants and friends, he ravaged all Northumberland; and upon his retreat the English drew out all their troops from the country and garrisons, and so followed him with a very great army. What was to be done in this case? Alexander could not avoid fighting; and yet he perceived, that his soldiers were somewhat crest-fallen, by reason of the multitude of the enemy. In these circumstances he sent away his booty before, and placing his foot in ambush, commanding his horse to straggle abroad, as if they were flying; and when they were past the place of ambush, then to rally again at sound of trumpet. The English imagining that the horse had fled in good earnest, pursued them as disorderly; and when the signal was given to come together again, in a moment they turned back upon them; the foot also came suddenly out of their ambushes which struck such a consternation and terror into the English, that they fled back faster than they pursued before. Many of them were killed, a great number taken, and the booty carried home safe. Amongst the prisoners, there was the governor of Roxburgh, who had drawn out almost all his garrison to follow him; so that Alexander knowing the town to be empty, attacked and easily took it at the first onset; and when he had taken the lower part of the castle, the remainders of the garrison soldiers fled up into a strong tower in the town, but being vigorously attacked, and having no hopes of relief, they surrendered. Some say that the earl of Salisbury was there taken, and exchanged for John Randolph. But most writers, whom I am rather inclined to follow, affirm, that Salisbury was taken prisoner in France, and by French troops. Randolph going into Annandale took his castle, which was seated by Lochmaben, from the English: and the three governors of the borders, Alexander Ramsay of the east, William Douglas of the middle border, and Randolph of the west, drove the English beyond their old bounds, which they had in the reign of Alexander the third, and left them no footing at all in Scotland but only Berwick. Some say that Roxburgh was taken by Ramsay in the night, who set ladders to the walls when the watch was asleep, in the year 1342, the 30th day of March; and the *Black Book of Paisley* says the same.

The same year, on the second of July, David Bruce and his wife arrived at Inverbervy, nine years after his departure; his coming was the more acceptable, because the affairs of Scotland were then at such a low ebb. For Edward having made a truce for three years with Philip king of France at Tournay, and so being freed of his French war, determined to invade Scotland with all his forces. He had then in his army forty thousand foot, and six thousand

horse, and he had equipped out a gallant navy of ships to carry provisions for his land forces, that there might be no want; they set sail in the month of November, but met with so fierce a tempest, that after a long distress at sea, they were cast upon the Belgic and German shores, and so were of no use to him in the present war. In the mean while Edward and his land forces staid about Newcastle upon Tyne in great want of provisions; ambassadors came thither to him from Scotland, desiring a pacification for four months, which they obtained upon condition, "That if David
" came not to them before the first day of June, all the Scots
" would become subjects to Edward;" but David hearing of the preparations of the English, had set sail before the arrival of these ambassadors.

Amongst those who flocked in to congratulate the king at his return, (as many did from all parts of the kingdom), there came Alexander Ramsay, who being eminent both for the glorious actions of his former life, but especially for his recently obtained conquests, was received with a great deal of favour, and had the government of Roxburgh bestowed on him, and the sheriffdom of all Teviotdale. William Douglas took this very heinously, that Ramsay was preferred before him in that honour; for as he had drove out the English from almost all Teviotdale, he had for some years presided over the public assembly there, though without the king's command; yet relying upon his merits towards his country, the nobility of his birth, and the power of his family, he hoped that no man would have been his competitor for that office. Wherefore being wholly bent on revenge, he at present dissembled his resentment; but in three months after he met with his adversary, holding an assembly in the church of Hawick, and suddenly attacked and wounded him, having also killed three of his followers, who endeavoured to rescue him; and then set him upon an horse, and carried him to the castle of Hermitage, where he starved him to death.

About the same time, William Bullock, a man of singular loyalty to the king, was put to the same kind of death by David Barclay. These two savage and cruel facts filled almost the whole kingdom with seditions, and tore it into several parties. These things very much exercised the king's patience, who was yet but young, and not accustomed to men of rough and military dispositions; however, he used great diligence to find out Douglas, to bring him to condign punishment; but he, by means of his friends, (of which he had procured many by his gallant actions for the liberty of his country), and especially of Robert Stuart, the king's sister's son, obtained his pardon; and indeed the magnificent, yet true report of his glorious exploits, much facilitated the obtaining of it, together with the present condition of the time, in which there being but an uncertain peace abroad, and seditions at home, military men were to be respected and had in honour. Upon which account, he was not only pardoned, but even preferred to the government of Rox-

borough, and of Teviotdale too: a clemency, which perhaps, in the present circumstances of things might be useful, but certainly of very ill example for the future.

David, having thus settled matters at home the best he could, declares war against England, the greatest part of the nobility dissuading him from that expedition, by reason of the great scarcity of provisions: however, he listed an handsome army, and made John Randolph general of it; he himself accompanied him, but in disguise, that he might not be known to be the king. This army having wasted Northumberland for about two months time, returned home with great booty: within a few days after, he made another inroad into the enemy's country; but then he did not disguise, but openly professed himself both king and general. The English being inferior in strength, would not venture a set battle, whilst their king was absent in France, but skirmished their enemies with their horse, and so kept them from plundering much by a close march. Five of the chief nobility whom David had lately raised to that honour, straggling too far from their men, were taken prisoners, their followers killed or put to flight: so that David, to waste no more time there in vain, returned with his army. He made also a third expedition with what force he could privately levy, in order to fall upon his enemy unawares. But entering England in a stormy autumn, the small brooks were so swollen with large showers, that they made all the country impassable, and hindered the carriage of provision, so that he was forced to return home; however, that he might not seem to have taken so much pains to no purpose, he demolished a few castles.

Not long after ambassadors were sent backwards and forwards in order to obtain a truce for two years, which the Scots consented to, upon condition that Philip king of France gave his consent; for that was one article in the treaty between the Scots and French, that neither of them should make truce or peace with the English, without the other's consent. For those two years Scotland was quiet. About the fourth year after David's return, the French were overcome in a great battle, and Calais, a town of the Morini, was besieged by them; so that Philip pressed the Scots by his ambassadors to invade England, and so to draw away some of their forces from him. Hereupon an army was commanded to meet at Perth. To which place they came in great numbers, and there David, earl of Ross, way-laying Reginald lord of the Æbuda, his old enemy, fell upon him in the night, and slew him with seven noblemen in his company. This murder much weakened the army, for the relations and tenants of both parties, and the neighbouring inhabitants fearing a civil war between two such potent families, returned to their own homes. This made William Douglas of Lithsdale, earnestly desire the king to desist from his present expedition, and to compose matters at home. His counsel was refused; and the king (his friendship to Philip overcoming his

love to his country) marches forward into England, and destroyed all as he went with fire and sword. In sixteen days he came into the county of Durham, where the English, partly levied by Piercy, and partly sent back from the siege of Calais, made a great body, and shewed themselves to the enemy in order of battle, sooner than ever the Scots could have imagined. David, who feared nothing less than the coming of the enemy, and therefore sent abroad William Douglas to forage the neighbouring country, gave a signal of battle to his soldiers. Douglas fell unawares amongst his enemies, and having lost five hundred of his best men, was put to flight, and returned in great terror to the camp. The end of this battle was as unhappy as the beginning: for the fight being sharply begun, John Randolph's men were routed at the first onset, and he himself killed. The main body, in which the king was, was attacked by two brigades of the English; one that had been before victorious; and another that was entire, and had not yet charged; and in this action almost all the Scottish nobility were lost, as being resolved to die with their king; and the king himself was taken prisoner by John Copland, but not till he had wrested Copland's darts out of his hand, and struck out two of his teeth with his fist, though he himself was cruelly wounded with two arrows. The third wing, commanded by Robert Stuart and Patrick Dunbar, perceiving the slaughter of their fellow-soldiers, withdrew themselves with little loss. The nobility were so destroyed in this fight, that immediately after it, Roxburgh, Hermitage, and many other castles were surrendered to the English: and the Scots were forced to quit their claim to all the lands they held in England, and also to March, Teviotdale, Lithsdale and Lauderdale; and the bounds and borders of the English were enlarged to Cockburnspath, as they call it, and Soltra-hill.

Baliol not contented to have recovered the possessions of his ancestors in Galloway, marched over Annandale and Lithsdale, and all the country lying near the Clyde, and destroyed all with fire and sword. He also, by the assistance of Piercy of England, made the like havoc in Lothian; nor could there be a sufficient army raised against them in Scotland for some years. As an addition to this misery there happened also a terrible plague, which swept away almost the third part of the people. And yet in such an afflicted state of things, men did not abstain from domestic broils. David Barclay, a noble knight, who before had killed Bullock, was at this time also present at the murder of John Douglas at Dalkeith. William Douglas of Lithsdale (who was taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Durham, and was not yet released) caused him to be cut to pieces by his tenants; however, after he himself was released and returned into Scotland, he did not long survive him: for as he was a hunting in the wood of Ettric, he was killed by William Douglas, the son of Archibald, lately come from France, in revenge for his

murder of Alexander Ramsay. Nor did the clans of the ancient Scots, full as restless and impatient, abstain from injuring one another.

In the midst of these calamities, which pressed in on every side, William Douglass gathered together a band of his vassals and tenants, and recovered Douglas the patrimony of his ancestors, having driven the English out of it; and, afterwards, upon this little success, men's minds being more inclined to him, he reduced a great part of Teviotdale. In the mean time, John, king of France, heir to his father Philip, both in his kingdom and in his wars, fearing lest the Scots being broken by so many misfortunes, should quite sink under so puissant an enemy, sent Eugenius Garenter to them, with forty gallant cavaliers in his train, to desire of them *to make no peace with England without his consent*. He brought with him forty thousand French crowns to press soldiers; and besides, by large promises, he brought over the nobility to his opinion. They received the money and divided it among themselves, but levied no soldiers, only they carried on the war by light incursions as they were wont to do. As soon as the English heard of this, they almost laid all Lothian desolate, which had been cruelly harassed before. To revenge this wrong, Patrick Dunbar and William Douglas gathered a good body together as privately as they could, and placed themselves in ambush, but sent out William Ramsay of Dalhousie, a noted and gallant soldier, with part of the army to burn Norham, a populous town upon the banks of Tweed. When Ramsay had accomplished his design, the English were trained on to the ambush, where some were surprised and killed; at last, being not able to resist so great odds, the English surrender themselves. This success heartened the Scots, and for that reason the same generals uniting their forces together, Thomas Stuart, earl of Angus, resolves to attack Berwick: and to do it privately, he hired vessels, ladders, and other implements used in scaling the walls of towns, wherever he could procure them; he acquaints Patrick with his coming, meets him at the hour appointed, and made up to the walls with as little noise as they could; however the centinels saw them, whom, after a sharp conflict, the Scots repulsed, and became masters of the town, but not without loss on their own side; the castle was still kept by the English, which they attempted, but in vain.

When the king of England heard how matters went in Scotland, he gathered together a powerful army, and in quick marches hastened thither. The Scots hearing of his coming, and not being provided with materials for a long siege, plundered and burnt the city, and so returned home. Edward employed all kind of workmen and artificers to repair what the flames had consumed; in the mean while, he himself quartered at Roxburgh. Baliol comes to him thither, and surrenders up the kingdom of Scotland to him, desiring him earnestly not to forget the injuries offered him by the Scots. Edward, as it were in obsequiousness to his desires, invades Lothian

by land and sea, and makes a farther devastation of what was left after the former ruin. He determined in that expedition so to quell all Scotland, that they should never recover strength to rebel again. But his purpose was disappointed, by means of a most terrible tempest, which so dispersed, shattered, and tore his ships that carried his provisions, that very few of them ever met again in one port; so that he was forced to return home for want of provisions, only he vented his spleen upon Edinburgh, Haddington, and other towns of Lothian. Edward and his army being gone for England, Douglas drove the English out of Galloway; Roger Kirkpatrick out of Nithsdale; and John Stuart, son of the regent, out of Annandale; and thus those three countries were recovered by the Scots.

About the same time, John, king of France, was overthrown by the English in a great battle in Poitou, and he himself taken prisoner. Edward having two kings his prisoners at once, passed the winter merrily amongst the congratulations of his friends; and the Scots thinking that his mind being sated with glory, might be more inclined to equity, they sent ambassadors to him to treat about the release of their king. Bruce, that the Scots might have easy access to him, was sent to Berwick; but, inasmuch as they could not agree about the conditions, he was carried back to London. Not long after the pope's legates were sent, who took great pains to make a peace between the English and French; they also transacted the same for Scotland, upon the promise of the payment of an hundred (as our writers say, or as Frossard, of five hundred) thousand merks of English money to the English; part of which was to be paid in hand, the rest by instalments. To make up that sum, the pope gave the tenths of all benefices for three years; in the mean time a truce was made, and many young nobles given for hostages, who almost all died in England of the plague.

Hereupon David returned the eleventh year after he was taken prisoner. The first thing he did was to punish those who had been the forwardest to fly in the battle of Durham. From Patrick Dunbar he took away a great part of his lands; he cut off all hopes from Robert Stuart, his eldest sister's son, of succeeding in the kingdom, and substituted Alexander, son of the earl of Sutherland, by his second sister, and made the nobility swear fealty to him. This young man's father distributed large and fruitful lands amongst the nobility, to engage them more firmly to his son. But Alexander dying soon after, he was reconciled to Robert Stuart; and in a full assembly of the estates, he was, by a general suffrage, named heir presumptive of the crown. But this was done some years after.

The king passed the next five years in appeasing the discords at home, in which time there happened two great calamities: one reached but to a few, by an inundation of water; for there were such great rains, that Lothian seemed to be all in a flood; and the

force of the water was such, that it carried away bridges, water-mills, country-houses, with their owners and cattle, into the sea; it rooted up trees, and almost quite destroyed the towns which stood near the banks of rivers. This misery was seconded by another, a terrible pestilence, which consumed many of all ranks and ages.

In the year 1363, the state of things grew calmer, and then, in the assembly of the estates, the king propounded to the lords of the articles, "That the king of England, or else his son, might be sent for into Scotland, to succeed him in the kingdom if he should chance to die." This he did, either being quite wearied of war, or foreseeing that it would be for the good of both kingdoms; or, (as others think), because of his oath which the English had made him swear; but his speech was so unacceptable and offensive to them all, that before every one's vote could be asked in order, they all confusedly cried out upon it as an abominable proposition; and it was almost come to that, that they who had most freely spoken against it, fearing his displeasure, were meditating a revolt. But he understanding their fears, abated his anger, and received them into favour. When he had quieted all things elsewhere, the Highlanders continued still in arms, and did not only commit outrages upon one another, but also made havoc of the adjacent countries. The king tried all probable means to bring them to a mutual concord; but being not able to do it, his next design was to suborn some crafty fellows, to foment and heighten their dissensions; that so when the fiercest of them had destroyed one another, the rest might become more tractable and pliant. The king having performed these exploits, both at home and abroad, departed this life in the castle of Edinburgh, on the seventh day of May, in the forty-seventh year of his age, about the thirty-ninth of his reign, and of our Lord 1370.

He was certainly a man eminent in all kinds of virtue: but especially in justice and clemency; and though he had been exercised with good and bad events alternately, yet still his fortune seemed rather to fail him than his industry.

ROBERT II. *the hundredth king.*

AFTER David's decease, the nobles met together at Linlithgow, to congratulate Robert at the beginning of his reign, who had before been designed king by his uncle; but here the ambition of William Douglas had almost thrown things into a sedition and uproar. For he demanded the kingdom as his hereditary right, because he was descended from Baliol and the Cumins. But finding that his suit was unacceptable to them all, and especially to his most intimate friends, the two brothers, George and John Dunbars, of which one was earl of March, and the other, of Murray; as also to Robert Erskine, governor of the three well fortified castles of Dumbarton, Stirling, and Edinburgh, he desisted, and promised to obey Robert as his liege king; and the king, to oblige him in a

more strict bond of friendship, espoused his daughter to earl William's son.

This year the truce made for fourteen years was broken by the English. There was a great fair usually kept on the eleventh of August, to which place vast numbers of both nations, even from the remotest parts, used to resort; thither came the inhabitants of March, and it happened, that one of George Dunbar's intimate friends was killed. George, according to the law which was observed among the borderers, sent heralds to demand the murderers to be given up to him, or else that they would punish them themselves; but perceiving that favour did outvie equity, he dissembles the affront, and against the next day appointed for the fair, secretly prepared a band of men, and setting upon the town unexpectedly, he slew all the young people, burnt the houses, and returned home with a great booty. The English, to revenge this injury, with like cruelty ravaged all the lands of John Gordon, a noble knight; and not long after, Gordon entered England, and brought away a great booty both of men and cattle; but as he was returning home, John Lilburn met him with a far greater force: a terrible fight then began between them, and victory seemed a long time to flutter over both parties with doubtful wings; but at last she inclined to the Scots. The commander of the English forces was taken prisoner, with many of his allies and tenants.

Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, a man of a great spirit, being then lord warden, or governor of the eastern marches or borders, resented this injury to his countrymen; and immediately gathered together a body of above seven thousand men, and encamped at a village called Duns, remarkable for being the birth-place of John Scotus, surnamed Subtilis, rather than for any thing else. There the countrymen and shepherds gathered themselves together, having no other arms, but such rattles with which they used to frighten the deer and cattle which feed there up and down, without any keeper; and by night placed themselves on some risings of the Lameruir hills, which were near to the said village of Duns. The form of the rattle is this; on the top of a long spear or pole, they fasten some ribs of wood, bent into a semicircle; all over them they stretch a skin, after the same form as the lanterns, which the common people of Paris call *falsts*, are made; in this skin they put small stones, but very hard ones, which when they are stirred, and tumbled up and down, make such a rattling noise, as drives away the beasts and cattle from the corn. With these rattling instruments they made a mighty noise on the hills hanging over Duns, at which the English horses were so affrighted, that they broke the head-stalls they were tied with, and ran up and down the fields, and so were taken by the countrymen; and in the whole army there was such a tumultuous bustle, that they cried out, *Arm, arm!* and thinking the enemy had been at their heels, they passed that night without sleep. But, in the morning, perceiving their

mistake, and having lost many of their baggage-horses, as well as those for service, they retreated six miles (for that place is so far distant from England) on foot, like men routed and flying, leaving their baggage behind them.

The same day that Piercy retired back from Duns, Thomas Musgrave, governor of Berwick, came out of his garrison with some troops, to join Piercy; John Gordon had notice of his march, and laid an ambush for him, into which he fell,; and imagining his enemy to be more numerous than he was, began to fly, but was taken with his party in the pursuit, and brought back again. In the western borders, John Johnston so managed it, that he got both honour and booty too: for he so exercised his neighbouring foes with small, but frequent incursions, that he did them as much mischief as a great army would have done.

Thus all things succeeded prosperously with Robert, for the first two years of his reign; but in his third year, Euphemia, daughter to Hugh, earl of Ross, died. The king had three children by her; Walter, afterwards made earl of Strathearn; David, earl of Athol; and Euphemia, whom James Douglas married, as I said before. Robert, not so much for the impatience of his unmarried state, as for the love of his children which he had before by Elizabeth More, made her his wife. This woman was exceeding beautiful, the daughter of Adam More, a noble knight; the king fell in love with her when he was young, and had three sons and two daughters by her, and gave her in marriage to one Gifard, a nobleman in Lothian. It happened that Euphemia, the queen, and Gifard, Elizabeth's husband, died about one and the same time. Upon which the king, either induced by the old familiarity he had with her, or else (as many writers report) to legitimate the children she had by him, married her, and presently advanced her sons to riches and honour. John, the eldest son, was made earl of Carrick; Robert, of Monteith; and Alexander, of Buchan, to which Badenoch was adjoined. Neither was he content with this munificence, but he prevailed upon the assembly of estates, met at Scoon, to set by the children of Euphemia, and to observe the order of age, in making his son king after him; which matter was in after-times almost the utter ruin of that numerous family.

During the next two years, there was neither certain peace nor open war, but light incursions, or rather plunderings on both sides: in the mean time, Edward III. died, and Richard II. his grandchild by his son Edward; born at Bourdeaux, succeeded him, being eleven years of age: at which time ambassadors were sent by Charles V. king of France, into Scotland. The cause of their embassy was, to renew the ancient league with Robert, and to desire him to invade England with an army, and so take off the stress of the war from France. In the mean time, whilst they were treating with the assembly, Alexander Ramsay (as the English writers report, out of Frossard) attended with forty young men, in the mid-

dle of the night, when the centinels were asleep, took the castle of Berwick; all that were in it being either killed or made prisoners. The townsmen, being amazed at this sudden surprize, sent for Piercy, who came and laid siege to the castle with ten thousand men. When the news of this action was brought to the assembly of the estates at Scoon, Archibald Douglas being concerned for the danger his kinsman was in, took with him a flying body of five hundred horse only, and hastened thither; but all passages to the besieged were cut off and stopped, so that he was forced to return again without any action. And the castle, after a valiant defence for some days, was at last taken by storm, and all put to the sword, except Alexander alone; thus the English: but our writers say, that the castle was taken by the help of six country people of March, who, not being able to keep it, were obliged to desert it. Not long after the assembly, William, the first earl of Douglas, gathered together an army of twenty thousand men, and entered England, and coming suddenly to a town called Penrith, on a fair day, he took, plundered, and burnt it, and then securely marched his army back again laden with much spoil and booty; but withal, he brought the pestilence home with him, which was greater than any before, so that it raged over all Scotland for the space of two years.

The English, to be even with the Scots, passed over the Solway, and entered Scotland: Talbot, a fierce general, commanded them, being fifteen thousand men, with which number he made a terrible havoc and devastation far and near; and as his army was turning back laden with spoil, he pitched his tents in a narrow valley, not far from the borders of England; in those streights by night, whilst they thought themselves secure, about five hundred Scots came upon them, being unprovided, and most of them without their arms; and at the first assault they killed all who were in their way; so that the tumult and fear diffusing itself, they were entirely put to flight; many were killed upon the spot, two hundred and fifty taken prisoners, and a great number, in such a sudden consternation, taking the river, were drowned; the rest left their prey behind them, and ran home the nearest way they could.

In the mean time, the English carried on a strong war, both by sea and land, against the French; but as part of their forces were sent into Portugal, it was resolved by the parliament, that John, duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, should be sent ambassador into Scotland, to treat about a peace; to the end, that being engaged in so many wars, they might have quiet on that side at least, which lay most exposed and open. The Scots being made acquainted with his coming by an herald, appointed William, earl of Douglas, and John Dunbar, earl of Murray, to treat with him; a truce was made for three years. But whilst they were treating about a peace there, a dreadful civil war broke out in England. The first author of it is said to be one John Ball, a priest: he, perceiving that the

commonalty was enraged, because poll money of four English pence a head was laid on them, first of all secretly, and in private confessions, discourses, and meetings, inflamed the minds of the commons against the nobility; and perceiving that his discourse was well accepted, he talked more openly: besides this new occasion, there was also another of older date, viz. that the greatest part of the commons were made little better than slaves to the lords. A great many tradesmen and day-labourers came in to them, and others also, who, in estate or credit, had nothing to lose; insomuch, that they raised so great a tumult and combustion, that the whole frame of the government seemed to be very much in danger. These things were known at the meeting of the ambassadors; yet both of them dissembled the matter till they had treated and concluded what they came about. Then Douglas told John of Lancaster, that he knew, from the beginning, in what state the affairs of England stood, but they were so far from laying hold on the opportunity, either to make war, or to hinder a good peace, that they offered him, even then, to stay securely in Scotland, till the tumults of England were appeased; or, if he would return, that he should have five hundred Scots horse for his convoy. Lancaster gave them great thanks, yet he hoped at present, that he had no need to accept of either of the conditions. But, as he was returning home, the governor of Berwick shut him out of the town, so that he, upon the public faith given, returned into Scotland, and there kept himself till the sedition of the commons was quelled in England. When the three years truce was ended, in the year 1384, in the month of January, Archibald Douglas of Galloway, with the assistance of William, earl of Douglas, and George, earl of March, laid siege to the castle of Lochmaben, situate near a lake of the same name, and from whence daily inroads were made upon the neighbouring country. The governor of the castle, being struck with this sudden misfortune, articted with the enemy, "That unless he were relieved in eight days, he would surrender the castle;" whereupon, after the Scots had endured great hardship, by reason of the winter storms, and continual showers, the castle was surrendered according to covenant, on the ninth day after summons, which was the fourth of February. They who lived near Roxburgh, fearing lest that castle might be also taken, took care that one Grastock, a noble and wealthy person, and much famed for his warlike skill, should be made governor of it; whereupon, as he was sending in great provisions thither, and also all his own household goods, imagining that they could no where be better kept from his enemy's use, or secured for his own; Dunbar, being informed by his spies of the day of his march, and the way he was to go, laid his ambushes in convenient places, and so suddenly attacked a long confused train, made up of soldiers, waggoners, and a promiscuous multitude, that without any fighting he took the booty, and the owner of it too, and presently retreated back. The

English, in revenge of their losses, and to prevent future incursions by some memorable exploit, send Lancaster into Scotland with great forces, both by sea and land. Lancaster himself came thro' March and Lothian as far as Edinburgh: his fleet was sent to lay waste the maritime parts of Fife.

The soldiers were desirous to burn down Edinburgh; but the general remembering that but a few years before, he had been kindly and hospitably entertained there, when he was excluded by his own people, absolutely forbade them. But his sea forces shewed not the same civility; for entering into the Isle of Inchcolm, they plundered a monastery of monks, and burnt it; using the like cruelty in all places where they landed, till Nicholas and Thomas Erskines, Alexander Lindsay, and William Cunningham met them, killed many, took some, and forced the rest to fly in such fear to their ships, that besides the other loss received by their hasty flight, they suffered forty of their own men, hanging upon one of their own ships ropes, after the rope was cut, to be drowned before their eyes. Lancaster was scarce returned home, before William Douglas trode almost on his heels, partly sacking, partly demolishing all the castles, which the English held in Scotland after the battle of Durham. He reduced all Teviotdale, except Roxburgh, to the Scots obedience; and restrained robberies, which the licentiousness of the wars had multiplied and encouraged; and he himself did not long outlive these noble actions, but died of a fever in the castle of Douglas. His son William Douglas succeeded him; one every way worthy of so good a father.

In the mean time, when a truce for a year was made between the French, English, and Scots, near Boulogne, in the low countries; the French, who were obliged to give the Scots notice of it, had neglected so to do: the English nobility, who bordered upon Scotland, thinking now they had a fit opportunity to give their enemy some notable and unexpected overthrow, and not leave them any time for revenge; they, before the truce was published, gathered together ten thousand horse, and six thousand archers: and entering Scotland, under the command of the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, made a terrible havoc of the country, especially on the lands of the Douglasses and Lindsays. The Scots, who, upon the rumour of a truce, had laid aside all thoughts of war, were exceedingly offended, both at their own negligence, and at the perfidiousness of the enemy, and resolved upon revenge, as soon as they could. In the mean time, the noise of the English invasion of Scotland alarmed the French, who were to give notice of the truce, and put them in mind of their non-performance. They, endeavouring by a late forwardness, to make amends for their former omission, came to London, even in the very height of the invasion, where they were nobly treated, and detained so long by kind and friendly invitations, till it was known that the English were returned out of the enemy's country: then they were dismissed, and

came into Scotland, where they declared their message, as they were commanded. Whereupon, almost all the nobility, especially those who had felt the loss sustained by the late inroad, murmured and cried out, "That this foul dealing of the English was not to be endured." The king in vain endeavoured to pacify them, for he was willing to observe the truce; but they so long debated on, and delayed the matter, till their friends had privately levied almost fifteen thousand horse; and then, on a day appointed, Douglas, Lindsay, and Dunbar, went privately from court, and joining their countrymen, invaded England with a powerful army; they wasted Northumberland as far as Newcastle, and returning through the lands of the earl of Nottingham, and the Moubrays, they destroyed all, by fire and sword, that they could not carry away. Then they returned home with a great booty, and many prisoners, and presently caused the truce to be proclaimed.

About the end of the truce, in the year 1385, Monsieur John de Vienne, admiral of the French navy, was sent over by the king of France, with about two thousand auxiliaries, of which an hundred were cuirassiers, armed cap-a-pee, and two hundred which flung darts out of engines, since called cross-bows; the rest were foot of a promiscuous kind: they brought with them money for six months pay, besides many gifts and presents; and amongst the rest, four hundred suits of complete armour, to be divided among the bravest men. Having first waited on the king, he and James Douglas entered Northumberland; and, having demolished three castles, they would have proceeded farther, but so much rain fell that autumn, that they were forced to return. Besides, they heard a report that Richard II. of England was coming against them, which hastened their retreat. His anger was more inflamed now against the Scots than ever; because they had not only made a dreadful war upon his kingdom themselves, but had also sent for foreigners to their aid; and that in such a juncture of time when the French themselves designed also to land a vast army in England; whereupon he gathered a very powerful army together, consisting as the English writers say, of sixty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; with this force he resolved to humble the Scots, that they should not, in many years after, be able to levy any considerable army. Besides this, he fitted out a great navy, which were to bring provisions into the Forth. For he knew that part of Scotland, where he was to make his descent, had been exhausted for many years by continual wars: and, if any provisions were left in it, that the inhabitants would convey them away into the neighbouring, or other remote places. As to the French, he was secure of them, for he knew that they would not put to sea in a stormy winter. With those forces he entered Scotland, spared no place, neither sacred nor profane; nor any age, nor degrees of men, if they were capable to bear arms. In the mean time, Monsieur Vienne, being

more mindful of his king's commands to him at his parting from him, than of the present posture of affairs in Scotland, was earnest with Douglas to come to battle. He still answered him, that the Scots forbore to engage not out of any disaffection to the French, but only as being conscious of their own weakness; and thereupon he took him up into an high place, from whence he might safely take a view of the enemy: he then perceiving the long train of the English in their march, soon altered his sentiments. Upon which they both concluded, that, in the present circumstances, the best and only way for them to incommode the enemy, was to gather together what force they could; and so to invade England. Thereupon they entered far from the English army into Cumberland, and made a great havoc, both there and in the neighbouring counties. The English, winter being now at hand, and the country of Lothian, being spoiled by the war, (for they durst not go far from their ships, lest provisions should fail them) consulted about their return: some were of opinion, that it was best to follow the Scots in the rear, and, in their return, to compel them to fight, whether they would or no. But those who knew the ways better, through which they were to march, replied on the contrary, that there would be great difficulty in passing over such marshes and mountains, and sometimes narrow places, wherein there was so much want of every thing, that a very few light armed men could scarce carry provisions enough with them, though but for a few days; and besides, if they should overcome those difficulties, yet the next country which was to receive them, was not over fruitful of itself; and that it had likewise been wasted by the war. Again, if they would wade thro' all those inconveniencies, yet they had to do with a nimble and shifting enemy, whom it would be more difficult to find, and to bring to a battle, than to overcome; and, if they could find him out, yet he would not be compelled to fight, but in his own places of advantage. That Edward III. king Richard's grandfather, had experience of this, to the great detriment of his own, and little inconvenience of the Scots army. Upon hearing of this, as reflecting on what miseries they might suffer in an enemy's country, in a cold winter, and, in the mean time, leave their wives, children, and what else was dear to them, comfortless at home; they changed their minds, and marched back directly the same way they came. Thus both armies had a free time of plundering in their enemy's country; and each of them returned home again, without seeing any enemy.

The Scots well knowing that the English could not attempt another expedition till the next summer, resolved to attack Roxburgh, a neighbouring town, and the garrison there, which very much annoyed the country thereabout. When they were come thither, a dissension arose between the Scots and the French about the town, even before it was taken. The French alleging, that seeing, by great experience in wars at home, they were more skilled in the me-

thods of taking towns, than the Scots; and besides, that they had expended a great deal of money in this war: they therefore thought it but just, that if the town were taken, it should be theirs, and remain under the jurisdiction of France. On the contrary, the Scots urged, that it was very unjust that auxiliaries should reap the reward and benefit of the whole war; and for what expences they had been at, it had been laid out rather for themselves than the Scots, it being in order to distract and divide the forces of England, and so to avert part of the war from France; and if the friendly offices on both sides were put in the balance, the Scots might, upon juster grounds, demand the charge of the whole war of the French, than the French could challenge any reward for their assistance, especially such a reward, as no history in the memory of man doth relate, either to have been demanded, or given by allies one to another: nay, the unjustness of their demand appeared by this, that the Scots might have sat still in peace, without being prejudiced by the English; and so might have been spectators only of the wars betwixt two potent kings; but the French could not have obtained the same quiet, unless they would have yielded up a good part of their country. Neither could they see of what use that town would be to the French if they had it, except only to be as a bridle; that so the arbitrimt of war or peace might be at their disposal; and if that were their intent, it were more for the profit, and for the credit too, of the kings of Scotland, to be quiet without the town, than on a trivial occasion to give up themselves to a voluntary service: but if, by so unjust a request, they thought to excuse their return home, which they, sometime before, attempted, there was no need at all of such a *blind*, for as they freely came, so they had liberty, always at their pleasure, freely to depart; neither was it advisable in the Scots to stop them, in regard they might easily foresee, their service would be but small, if they were detained against their wills.

Hereupon they departed from Roxburgh without attacking it; and whereas there had been grievous complaints on both sides before; so (if matters should still continue at that pass) open enmity seemed likely to arise. The original of the dissension grew from the different custom and carriage of either nation, in the management of war. For the Scots and English pay honestly for what they have at their quarters, and carry it amongst their countrymen as modestly and regularly in war as in peace. But the French quite otherwise; wherever they march, *all's their own*, as if they had public permission to rob and spoil; for they, having been accustomed to this kind of life, think they may lawfully do that which custom hath inured them always to do heretofore. And therefore before this, there had often quarrels, and sometimes blows happened between the Scots and French; these endeavouring to practise their wonted rapacity, and the *other* not submitting to such an accustomed servility; so that as *one* snatched away what was

none of his, the *other* laboured to defend his own. After this disgust and alienation of minds at Roxburgh, the French commissaries used greater licentiousness than ever, in gathering provisions, as intending shortly to depart; and the countrymen disdaining to be made a prey to a few men, and those strangers too, many times took away their baggage and their horses; and the officers and straggling soldiers sent out to forage, were sometimes wounded, sometimes killed outright. When complaints hereof were brought to the council, the countrymen answered with one consent, "That they were treated more coarsely, and robbed by the French, who called themselves friends, than by the English their professed enemies; and therefore they resolved, that they should not depart the land, till they had made recompence for their losses;" neither could this obstinate humour of theirs be stopped by the Douglasses, though they were the most popular men of that age. Hereupon the army was sent back, but the general was detained till full payment was made. The French set sail the first of November; the Scots, either tired with the military toil of the last year, or satiated with the spoils of so many prosperous expeditions, sat still all that winter. But the next spring William Douglas, the son of Archibald earl of Galloway, sailed over into Ireland, both to revenge at present the frequent descents of the Irish upon the coasts of Galloway, and also to restrain them for the future.

This William was a young man of the greatest qualifications, both in mind and body, amongst all the Scots. He was of great stature, and had strength accordingly; and his stature was accompanied with a graceful dignity of presence, (which seldom happens in bodies of that bulk) and his success in war very much recommended him; for very often with a small number he would attack a greater body of his enemies, and come off a conqueror; neither was he ever employed in any expedition, but he gave evident proofs of his valour. These excellencies, which, in some, are matter of envy, yet in him, by reason of his affability, complaisance, and courteous modesty, were acceptable to all. And, upon the account of those virtues, though the king knew him to be base-born, yet he bestowed his daughter Ægidia upon him in marriage, a woman of the greatest beauty in those times; and one who had been courted by many of the young nobility of the court. With her he gave Nithsdale, the next country to Galloway, as a dowry.

He landed his men at Carlingford, a rich town in that country, and the suddenness of the invasion struck such terror into the townsmen, that they presently sent out to him to treat about conditions of surrender. Douglas entertained them courteously, and, in the mean time, as secure of the enemy, he sent out Robert Stuart, laird of Disdeer, with 200 soldiers to bring in provisions into his ships. The townsmen having gotten this time for consultation, sent for aid from Dundalk. Five hundred horse were sent, with which addition they divided themselves into two bodies, and

so drew forth against their enemy; for, because they were so much increased in number, they thought presently to put them all to the sword, and so to become masters of their ships too. But both their bodies were routed, the town taken, plundered, and burnt; fifteen ships which rode in the harbour, were laden with the spoils of the city; and in his return home, he plundered the Isle of Man by the way, and so arrived at Loch-Ryan, which divides part of Galloway from Carrick. In this place, Douglas heard that his father was gone on an expedition against England; whereupon he hastened after him as fast as he could. That expedition was undertaken chiefly upon this ground; Richard, of England, having entered Scotland the year before, and spared nothing, either sacred or profane, at his return home met with a domestic sedition, which had changed the state of his whole kingdom. To heal this mischief, he transferred the government of the counties, and the management of lesser matters (as is usually done in such cases) from one to another; and, by this means, the fire of hatred was not so much quenched as covered in the ashes, and likely soon after to break out again: but, on the contrary, Scotland enjoyed a great, but yet uncertain tranquillity. For it was full of young soldiers fit for war, and as fruitful and well stored with good officers as ever before. So that the nobility were desirous of a war, and in all their assemblies and meetings, they still muttered that so gallant an opportunity to be revenged on the English for their old injuries was not to be neglected, and that the English would never have omitted it in reference to Scotland, if the affairs there had been in the like confusion.

But king Robert being a man of a quiet disposition; and besides, by reason of his advanced age, not so forward for war, seemed not to be sufficiently concerned at the public injuries: and his eldest son, John, was naturally slow, and besides, lame with the stroke of a horse, so that he was not well able to endure the hardships of a camp. And therefore the nobles made their addresses to Robert the next son, earl of Fife; to whom they complained of the deplorable state of the public, and they all presently concluded, that the wrong lately received was to be revenged, and therein every one promised his chearful assistance; so that it was agreed, that a levy of soldiers should be made against the fifth day of August next, but so secret, that neither king, either Scots or English, should know of it.

But the English were quickly advertised by their spies, of the time and place of meeting; so that they resolved to prevent their enemy with the like secret management. For the lords advised the rest, with all their followers, to be in a readiness, not at any one day, but whenever there was need, that they might draw to their colours. Matters being thus resolved on, when they heard that the Scots, to the number of 30,000, or as Frossard will have it, of 40,000, were met together in Teviotdale, not far from the borders;

they resolved farther, that (seeing they were not able to encounter such great numbers) they would attempt nothing before the coming of the enemy upon them. And, in the mean time, to conceal their intent the better, every man was to stay at his own home, till they saw upon what country so great a storm would fall; and then, according to the enemy's motion, they would steer their course, and (as the Scots had done the autumn before in reference to England) so now they would enter into Scotland another way, and repay loss for loss.

In the mean time, they sent a spy to inform themselves fully of the enemy's advance, who was now near them; for they counted it highly conducive to their affairs, to know not only the design, but even the last words, resolves, and actions of their enemies. He that was sent differed nothing in speech, habit, or armour from the rest, and so was easily taken for a Scotchman. So that having found out every thing which he desired to know, he was going to a tree where he had tied his horse, to fetch him, and so to be gone; but he found that some person had stolen and carried him away before; so that he was forced, in his boots, spurs, and riding suit, to take his journey on foot. Hereupon the matter began to be suspected, and when he was gone a great way, some horsemen were sent after to bring him back as a deserter; when they came up to him, and demanded who, or what he was, and why he went from his colours in that manner; he not being able to give a ready answer, they brought him back to the chief officers of the army, to whom, for fear of a greater punishment, he discovered all the designs of the English. When the Scots heard this, they also changed the order of their designs, they divided their army so, that the greatest part of it should march toward Carlisle, and that the king's two sons, the earls of Fife and Strathearn, should command it; to whom were joined Archibald Douglas of Galloway, and the earls of Mar and Sutherland. The other part was to enter Northumberland under the command of James Douglas, and the two brethren, Dunbars, George and John; the one earl of Murray, the other of March. Their party consisted of 300 horse and 2000 foot, besides servants and attendants on the horse; for every horseman hath at least one servant, who, being lightly armed, can run almost as fast as a horse, and when occasion is offered, can encounter an enemy.

When their forces were thus divided, they who marched towards Cumberland and Carlisle, carried all before them, by reason of their numerous army, and met with no enemy at all. But Douglas, in the devastations which he made in the other circuit, had not the same fortune; for he had so ordered the course of his expedition, as to take great, and yet secret marches; and so passing over Tyne to penetrate beyond Durham, before he gave his army leave to spoil and plunder. This he did with such secrecy and speed, that the English did not know where their enemies were, but by the

smoke of the fires they had made. Piercy the elder was the greatest man in Northumberland and the adjacent counties, both for wealth and power. When the news was brought to him, he sends two of his sons, Henry and Ralph, very active young men, before to Newcastle, commanding the rest to follow them thither. His intent was to intercept the Scots on their return home. But they, having spoiled the wealthy county of Durham, returned home with a great prey, and repassed the Tyne about three miles above Newcastle. There the commanders, being nobly descended in their own country, as desirous of glory, and besides, elevated with their present success, thought it an inglorious thing to strike terror only into rustics and plebeians, if they did not also affright cities; whereupon they marched to Newcastle, and threatening to besiege it, they endeavoured by contumelies and big words to draw out the enemy.

When they had staid there two days, and some light skirmishes, with various success, had passed between them, there was one combat, which, towards the evening of the last day, attracted the eyes of all the spectators, and that was a duel between the two generals; for they, being in a manner equally matched in respect of birth, power, age, and courage, had a mind to encounter each other in the sight of both armies. Hereupon a challenge was sent, and they, both James Douglas and Henry Piercy, entered the lists, and ran at one another with their spears. Piercy was unhorsed at the first encounter, and Douglas got his spear, but he could not touch his person, because the English came in to his assistance; he shook the spear, and cried out aloud, so as he might be easily heard, "That he would carry that as a trophy into Scotland." The combat being ended, the Scots kept very diligent watch, in regard they were near a city well peopled, and full of enemies. The day after they retired towards Scotland, but very slowly, as being laden with booty. As their prey moved leisurely on, they themselves attacked a neighbouring castle of the enemy's took and demolished it; and from thence they marched to Otterburn, about eight miles distant from Newcastle. There they took counsel concerning the rest of their march. The major part were of opinion to march towards Carlisle to meet the other army, and so not to fight singly, (as was at first agreed), but to wait the conjunction of both armies. But Douglas had a mind to stay two or three days in that place, that he might make a real confutation of the vaunts of Piercy, who had boasted, "That they should never carry his lance into Scotland." In the meantime, that they might not be idle, they would attack the neighbouring castle. This opinion, though it was judged by many none of the best, yet, for Douglas's sake they all submitted to it. And therefore they fortified their camp for the present occasion, which on one side was sufficiently guarded by marshes, and then proceeded to besiege the castle. But Piercy, being of a

fierce nature, that he might blot out the ignominy he had received, would have followed them presently upon their retreat, with those forces which he had about him; but the graver sort detained him for fear of an ambush; for they did not think it probable, that so small a number of Scots would have appeared before so strong a town, unless they had more forces near at hand, hid in some secret place.

That day and the next, they were busy in making discoveries; but finding that there was no danger of the greater army, as being far distant from Douglas's party; Piercy immediately, with ten thousand fighting men, put himself upon the march, without staying for the bishop of Durham, who, that very night, was expected with some forces; for he thought he had force enough to overcome his enemies, who were not half so numerous. When the English came in sight, some of the Scots were at supper; others being wearied at the leaguer of the castle, had composed themselves to rest; but presently an alarm word was given, *to your arms!* Whilst the rest were arming themselves, the major part of the foot, and many of the horsemen's servants, making use of that slender fortification they had, bore the brunt of the English assault. But the horse had a great advantage, in that they were sensible of the thing before; for disputing among themselves how they should entertain the enemy when he assaulted them, (for an assault they expected) they saw that a neighbouring hill would be of great use to them. This therefore they encompassed, and whilst the English were attacking the passage into the camp, they fell upon their left flank, and made a great slaughter, but a greater noise: yet the English, having men enough, brought up their reserves, and quickly made good their ranks again; however, that disorder did this good to the Scots, that the fight before the camp was managed more remissly, so that they had liberty to draw out, and range their army in order of battle.

Whilst these things were doing, the night drew on, but it was a short one, as it useth to be in July, in the northern countries especially, and the weather also chanced to be fair; so that the moon shining all night, it was as bright as day. The fight was maintained gallantly, as between two noble champions, who were more solicitous for their honour than for their lives. Piercy endeavoured to redeem his credit, and Douglas to maintain his by a new achievement; so that there was as much eagerness on the one side as on the other, though their numbers were unequal, and so the fight continued till it was late at night. And then the moon began to be clouded, that friend could not be discerned from foe; whereupon they rested a while to take a little breath; and as soon as the moon brake forth from the clouds, the English pressed hard upon the Scots, so that they gave ground, and Douglas's standard was like to be lost: when the two Patrick Hepburns, father and

son, from the one wing, and Douglas from the other, brake thro' the ranks of their own soldiers, and penetrated to the front, where the main danger was; and there they began so fierce an assault, that they gave and received many wounds; and, in fine, brought back their men to their former ground, from whence they had been driven. Neither was Douglas content therewith, but with his two friends and followers, Robert Hart, and Simon Glenduning his kinsman, he rushed in amongst the thickest of his enemies, and being of a stout spirit, as well as strong body, made a great slaughter wherever he came. His friends strove earnestly to come up to him; yet, before they could do so, he was mortally wounded in three places, and lay upon the ground; Hart lay dead by him, having a great many wounds about him; and the priest who had accompanied him in all his dangers, when he fainted, defended his body from injury. In this condition his kinsmen, John Lindsay and the two Sinclairs, John and Walter, found him, and asked him, "How
" he did? Very well, said he, for I do not die like a sluggard upon my bed, but as almost all my ancestors have done; and I
" have three (my last) requests to make to you: *First*, That you
" will conceal my death both from friends and foes. *Secondly*,
" That you would not suffer my standard to be beaten down.
" *Thirdly*, That you would revenge my death. If I may hope for
" the performance of these things, I shall bear the rest more contentedly." Whereupon they, in the first place, covered his body with a cloak, that it might not be known, and then they set up his standard, and cried out, (as the custom is) *A Douglas! A Douglas!* At that cry, there was such a concourse made, and they ran in upon the enemy with such alacrity and courage, that they drove him far away from the place of battle: for at the name of Douglas, not the common soldiers only, but John earl of Murray came in, as thinking things to be there in the greatest danger. For he had before routed that part of the enemy's army which stood against him, and taking Piercy the younger, who was much wounded, sent him into the camp, to be dressed of his wounds; so that the battle not being so hot in other parts of the army, the Douglassians which had run in to the standard, routed the English, who were wearied with their day-toil and night-fight; and in the heat of action, Henry Piercy their general was taken prisoner. When he was lost, the rest betook themselves to a confused flight. There were slain of the English in that battle 1840, about 1000 wounded, and 1040 taken prisoners. Of the Scots there were 100 slain, and 200 taken prisoners, in regard a few in pursuit followed a great number of their enemies. James Lindsay perceiving Matthew Redman governor of Berwick to be one of the straggling fliers, judging him by the goodness of his armour, to be one of the principal commanders, rode presently after him: when he had fled three miles, his horse being weary, he thought he could not escape by

riding, and so he dismounted, and came upon his feet. Lindsay did the same; at last, after a pretty long skirmish betwixt them, the Englishman, not being so good at that kind of weapon they used, yielded himself to Lindsay, who sent him home, having first taken his oath, *That he would return in twenty days*. This was then the courtesy of the neighbouring nations towards their prisoners, which to this day, is punctually observed amongst the borderers. And if a man do not return at the day appointed, this is his punishment: In the meetings which are made for reparation of mutual damages, he that complains how he was deceived, holds up the shape of an hand or glove on a long spear, that it may be seen of all; that is counted the highest brand of infamy upon any man; so that he who hath thus violated his faith, becomes thereby detestable to his own friends and relations to such a degree, that no man of any quality will eat, or drink, or talk with him, or so much as harbour him in his house. Lindsay having dismissed his prisoner on the forementioned terms, perceived a great body of men before him, and marched up to them; he knew them not to be enemies till he was so near that he could not retreat, but was taken prisoner. These were the forces of the bishop of Durham, who, coming late to Newcastle, and not being able to overtake Piercy, not thinking that he would engage till the next day, made an halt to refresh his men, and after they had supped he renewed his march. But he had not gone far from the town, before those that run away, informed him of the loss of the day. Whereupon he returned into the town, and advised with his friends concerning his following of the Scots. The resolution was, that about sun-rising they should all be in arms; and consequently in the morning there were ten thousand horse, besides a promiscuous multitude of foot from all places round about. These encouraged the bishop to march the nearest way to the enemy, and to give them battle, alleging, that they were so wearied with yesterday's fight, and so many were wounded, and the rest secure by reason of their late victory, that he might obtain an easy conquest over them. The earl of Murray, upon whom the eyes of all were fixed, when Douglas was gone, was advertised of the bishop's coming by his scouts; whereupon he consulted with his chief commanders about the prisoners: to kill them in cold blood, after they had given them quarter, seemed cruel; and to save alive a number of enemies, almost equal with themselves, seemed dangerous. The resolution was, that they should all swear not to stir whilst the battle was fighting, and though their friends might come to release them, yet they should continue and own themselves as prisoners still. Upon these terms they were left in the camp with a small guard, who were commanded to fall upon them all, if any one stirred. This matter thus settled, the Scots being full of courage, by reason of their former victory, marched out with their army, being fortified and secured in the rear with

marshes, and, on the right and left, with trees which they cut down; and besides, the word of command was given, that as soon as the enemy drew near, every man should blow his trumpet, made of an ox horn, which he carried hanging at his neck, which would make such a mighty noise and din, as was terrible of itself; but being multiplied by the repercussion and echo of the neighbouring hills, gave forth the representation of a greater force than indeed they were. The English, who had marched very fast, and were to fight amongst the dead bodies of their own men; being astonished at that horrible noise; and also at the alacrity of their enemies, who stood in good order over-against them; and besides, having no skilful commander over so tumultuary a body, nor the commander much confiding in such a raw soldiery, they presently turned their colours, and marched back as they came. In the mean time Lindsay, who, as I have said, was taken prisoner, and left at Newcastle, being seen and known by Redman, was courteously treated by him, and set at liberty without ransom. The Scots having passed over this sudden brunt so easily, resolved to return home; but first they dismissed Ralph Piercy, who was much wounded, so that he could not endure the jogging of a horse, and sent him to Newcastle to be healed of his wounds; upon his promise, that as soon as ever he was able to ride, he would wait on the earl of Murray, where he pleased to appoint; and engaging his faith thereto, as the manner is, he departed: six hundred other prisoners followed his example, and were released on their parole, upon the same terms. Many of the common soldiers, who were like to be more burdensome than beneficial, were dismissed *gratis*. Of the nobler sort, Henry Piercy, and almost 400 more were detained, and carried into Scotland: and shortly after, upon payment of such a ransom as they set upon their own heads, they were all set at liberty; so that in that age, as Ennius says, men did not huckster out a war, but fought it out, as contending mainly for liberty and glory. Three days after, the bodies of Douglas, and the other great commanders that fell, were carried to Mulross, and there, with military pomp, interred. When the news of these matters was brought to the other army, which was wasting Cumberland, it disturbed all their mirth; so that the joy conceived for their good success, was turned into bitter mourning. The loss of Douglas did so affect all the soldiers, that not only that army which followed him, but this other also returned home in silence and sadness, as if they had not been conquerors but conquered. The public sorrow was also further increased, that he died without children, and in the flower of his age; and that almost he alone was deprived of the fruit of the victory which he had gotten. His estate fell to Archibald earl of Galloway, surnamed the Austere, who also was a brave cavalier in his days. This is that memorable fight of Otterburn, remarkable, not only for the magnanimity and hardiness of the

commanders and soldiers, and their modesty in victory, but also for the various and changeable event of it: that the conqueror, in the highest expectation of his glory, was taken off by death, and could not enjoy the fruit of his own labour; and the conquered general, though then discomfited and made a prisoner, yet outlived this battle many years, in great glory and splendor. It was fought the 21st of July, in the year of our Lord 1388.

By this victory, matters were more composed and quiet both at home and abroad: but in regard the king, by reason of his age, was not fit to manage business, and withal, understanding the reflection that was made upon him by reason of the late expedition, which was undertaken without him; and his eldest son John being of a slow nature, and addicted more to ease than to difficult enterprises; he therefore called an assembly of the estates, and made Robert, earl of Fife, viceroy of the kingdom, by the name of *Governor*; yet they who managed that office before him, were usually called *Custodes*, *i. e.* guardians. When Henry Percy, eminent both for his quality and actions, was prisoner in Scotland, the earl of March, commonly called earl Mareschal, a man fiercer in his words than actions, was put in his place: he undervaluing the Scots valour in the fight of Otterburn, and also severely blaming the cowardice of the English, incurred thereby the hatred of both nations. And indeed, Robert vice-king of Scotland, was so offended at his insolent boasting, that he thought it a just cause to make an expedition against him. Hereupon he entered the enemy's country, and with Archibald Douglas, then earl of Douglas, marches directly towards the enemy, who was reported to expect him with a great army; when he came near him, he gave him opportunity to engage; which he declining, he sent a trumpeter to him, to challenge him to try it out in a plain field; but the Mareschal kept himself in his fastnesses and places inaccessible, and would give no answer to the trumpeter; so that Robert, after he had shewed his army some hours to the enemy, sent them forth to pillage in the neighbourhood; and he ransacked those places especially which the Mareschal was wont to have his residence in; and afterwards he marched them back laden with booty, without any fight at all. This expedition, though undertaken upon slight grounds, yet was very pleasing both to the English and the Scots, who both rejoiced to see the proud vanity of the man to be thus humbled; but he, to excuse the matter, as often as mention was made of it, alleged, that he did it for the love of his countrymen, as being unwilling to expose them to needless danger.

At this time a truce was made, and hopes of peace between France and England, by the mediation of the pope and the neighbouring princes, on this condition, that the allies of both should be comprehended by name, viz. the Portuguese, of the English

side; the Scots and Spanish Castilians, of the French. King Robert, against the advice of his counsel, gave his single assent thereto, but upon no solid ground; for "he was able to make neither peace nor war, but by the public advice of the estates; neither could he promise any firm truce, without their decree in the case." Nor could the nobility conceal any longer that hidden resentment and disgust which they had conceived against the French, who had only done them this courtesy, (the backward way,) that when they were to do service against an enemy, they would strike the weapons out of their hands, and so take away the fruit of a former victory, and also the hopes of a *new*.

At last, after much dispute and quarrelling, the French ambassador gained this point, but with much ado, that the Scots should send ambassadors into France about the matter, that so the hopes of a peace so near at hand, might not be hindered by their obstinacy. King Robert lived not long after, but departed this life in his castle called Dundonald, in the year of Christ 1390, the 19th of April. He lived seventy-four years, and reigned nineteen years and twenty-four days. This king carried on his wars by his deputies, and usually with good success; he was present in few battles himself, which some impute to his age, others to his cowardice; but all say that he was a very good man, and in the arts of peace, comparable with the best of kings. He administered justice diligently and impartially to all; he severely punished robberies. In his actions he was constant; in his words faithful. He came to the government in troublesome times, yet he settled things at home, appeased discords, and governed with great equity and justice; and he obtained such conquests over his enemy, that he reduced all the castles they had, except three.

After his death tumults arose where they were least expected. Alexander, earl of Buchan, the youngest of the king's sons by Elizabeth More, fell into a mortal feud with the bishop of Murray, upon a light occasion; and when he could not come at him to kill him, he wrecked his fury upon the church of Elgin, (which was then one of the fairest in all Scotland), and burnt it down to the ground. The same year William Douglas, earl of Nithsdale, (who, as I said before, for his valour was made the king's son-in-law), was slain at Dantzick on the Vistula, by some ruffians, who were hired to perpetrate the murder by Clifford, an Englishman. For Douglas, when matters were quieted at home, that he might not lie idle, set out for the *holy war*; and in Prussia gave such proof of his valour, that he was made admiral of the whole fleet, which was very great and magnificent, and withal well accommodated. But a quarrel arising between him and

Clifford, grounded upon old emulations, because he grudged him that honour, he sent him a challenge to fight with him hand to hand. But the challenger, considering into what an hazardous adventure he had run himself by that challenge, before the set time came, caused him to be murdered by assassins, which he had hired for that purpose.



THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK X.

ROBERT III. *the hundredth and first king.*

ROBERT II. was succeeded by his eldest son John, on the 13th of August, and in the year of our Lord 1390. He was called John till that time; but then, by the decree of the estates, his name was changed to Robert. Whether this change of names, was occasioned by the misfortunes and calamities of two kings, called John, the one of France, the other of England; or, whether it was for the eminent virtues and felicity of two Roberts, both in peace and war, who lately reigned in Scotland, authors remain silent in that point, and therefore I shall not take upon me to determine.

The excellence of this Robert consisted in this, that he was rather unblemished by vice, than signalized for any illustrious virtues; so that the name of king was vested in him, but the management of all public affairs rested on Robert his brother. In the beginning of his reign, there was peace abroad, by reason of the three years truce made with the English; which a while after was prolonged for four years more. But a sedition was begun at home by Duncan, or Dunach Stuart. He was the son of Alexander earl of Buchan, the king's brother; a fierce father, and a fiercer son; who, upon the death of his grandfather, imagining now that he had a fit opportunity for rapine, gathered a band of pillagers at his heels, and descending into Angus spoiled all, as if it had been an enemy's country. Walter Ogilvy and Walter Lichton, his brother, endeavouring to oppose him, were killed, together with sixty of their followers. They, elated with this success, afflicted the country more grievously than ever; but hearing of the approach of the earl of Crawford, whom the king had sent to restrain their insolence, the nimblest of them fled speedily, and hid their heads in holes and corners; of those who made not so much haste some were slain, some taken, and afterwards put to death. Thus the wickedness of these unquiet and turbulent set of mortals being

hindered from spreading over the champain countries, they fell out amongst themselves at their own homes: and especially two families of them exercised great cruelties upon one another. They refused to end their feuds by course of law; or to refer them to indifferent arbitrators; so that the king sent two earls to suppress them, Thomas earl of Dunbar, and James Lindsay, his father being dead, now earl of Crawford: these commanders, considering they were to engage a fierce and resolute people, who not only despised pleasure, but even death itself; so that they were not likely to subdue them by force, without great slaughter of their own men; they therefore resolved to try what they could do by policy. And accordingly they discoursed the heads of both clans apart, and represented to them what dangers would accrue to both by their mutual slaughters of one another; and if one family should extirpate the other, yet that was not likely to be effected without great damage, even of the conquering side; and if it might, yet the contest would not end so; for then the conquerors were to engage the king's forces, (though they were weakened before by their mutual conflicts), of whose anger against them both, they might be justly sensible, because he had sent forces to destroy them both, even before they had disabled one another. But if they would hearken to those who were more desirous of their preservation than their ruin, they would show them a way how they might be reconciled honourably, with amends, and to the king's satisfaction. When they desired to hear how this condition was proposed, that thirty of each side should try it out in fight before the king, armed only with their swords; they that were conquered, should have a pardon for all past offences, and the conquerors should be honoured and respected by the king and his nobles: both sides were well pleased with the terms; so that a day was fixed for the combat; and at the time appointed, the heads of the families, with their parties, came to court, and part of a field on the north side of the town of Perth, which was severed from the rest by a deep trench, was appointed for the place of combat; and galleries built round for spectators. Hereupon an huge multitude was assembled together, and sat ready to see the dispute; but the fight was delayed a while, because one of the thirty of the one party, had hid himself for fear, and their fellows were not willing to engage without having just an equal number with their adversaries; neither was any one found to supply the place of him who was absent; and of the other party, not a man would be drawn out, or exempted from the fight, lest he might seem less valued, and not so courageous as the rest. After a little pause, an ordinary tradesman comes forth, and offers to supply the place of him that was absent, provided, that if his side conquered, they would pay him down half a gold dollar of France, and also provide for his main-

tenance afterwards as long as he lived. Thus the number being again equalled, the fight began; and it was carried on with such great contention, both of body and mind, as old grudges, inflamed by new losses, could raise up in men of such fierce dispositions, accustomed to blood and cruelty; especially, seeing honour and estate was propounded to the conqueror, death and ignominy to the conquered. The spectators were possessed with as much horror, as the combatants were with fury, as detesting to behold the ugly and deformed mutilations and butcheries of one another's bodies; the lopping off their limbs; and, in a word, the rage of wild beasts under the shape of men. But all took notice, that none carried himself more valiantly than that mercenary and supposititious hireling, to whose valour a great part of the victory was to be ascribed: of that side that he was of, there were ten alive, besides himself, but all of them grievously wounded: of the contrary faction, there remained only one, who was not wounded at all; but as there was so much odds, and he would be forced singly to encounter with so many, he threw himself into the river Tay, which ran by; and his adversaries not being able to follow him, by reason of their wounds, he escaped to the other side. By this means, the forwardest of both parties being slain, the promiscuous multitude being left without leaders, gave over their trade of sedition for many years after, and betook themselves to their husbandry. This combat happened in the year 1396.

About two years after, in an assembly of the estates at Perth, the king made David his son, earl of Rothsay, being eighteen years old, and Robert his brother, long since earl of Monteith and Fife, dukes of Albany. This vain title of honour was then first celebrated in Scotland, a great increase of ambition, but none at all to virtue; neither did it afterwards thrive with any who enjoyed it. The king would have bestowed the same title upon the earl of Douglas; but he being a grave and solid person, absolutely refused that nominal shadow of empty honour; and if any man told him that he should be a duke, he rebuked him sharply for it. Some say, that the name of governor, which was given by his father to Robert the king's brother, was this year confirmed by the king; as also that the family of the Lindsays had the earldom of Crawford added to their former honours: but they are not fully clear, whether the name of the first earl of that family was Thomas or David.

The next year after, Richard II. king of England, was forced to resign the crown; and Henry IV. succeeded him. In the beginning of his reign, before the truce was quite ended, new seeds of war with the Scots were sown. George Dunbar, earl of March, had betrothed his daughter Elizabeth to David, the king's son, and had already paid a good part of her dowry. Archibald earl of Douglas, storming that so powerful a man, and his rival, should be

preferred before him, alleging that the consent of the estates was not obtained in the case, (which no man ever remembered to be done in any of the king's marriages before), offered his daughter Mary, with a larger dowry; and by means of Robert the king's brother, who could do all at court, he brought it about, that the condition was accepted, and the marriage was consummated by the decree of the estates. George was much affected at this injury, as well as reproach, and sharply expostulated with the king about it; but seeing what was once done, could not be undone, he desired at least the repayment of the dowry. This his just demand being denied, and perceiving that he was not like to obtain any right, for that the minds and ears of all the court were prepossessed by his rival, he departed upon very angry, nay, threatening terms; and so giving up the castle of Dunbar to Robert Maitland, his sister's son, he went for England. Robert presently yielded up the castle to an herald, sent by the king to demand it, and Douglas was admitted into it with a garrison, so that when George returned home, he was denied entrance. Upon that he took his wife, children, and some intimate friends, and returned into England. Being there, as he was a man powerful at home, and famous abroad, he joined counsels with Piercy, a mortal enemy to the name of the Douglasses; and in regard he was well beloved by the bordering Scots, of which many were either his tenants, allies, or otherwise obliged to him, he made an inroad into the whole province of March and drove great preys from the country, especially from the lands of the Douglasses. The king of Scots first proclaimed George a public enemy, and confiscated all his estate; next he sent an herald to the king of England, to demand that he might be given up as a fugitive, according to the league made betwixt them, and also to complain of the violation of the truce. Henry of England gave a peremptory answer to his demands, that he had given the public faith to George for his protection, and that he would not break his royal word: as if a private engagement with a renegado was more religiously to be observed, than that which had been publicly confirmed by ambassadors and heralds; for the days of the truce made with Richard were not yet expired. In the mean time, Henry Piercy the younger, called Hot-spur, and George Dunbar, ceased not to infest the neighbouring lands of the Scots with their incursions. Which when they had often and successfully done, their boldness increased with their success; so that gathering two thousand men together, they entered Lothian, and made great havock about Haddington. They besieged Hales Castle, but in vain. When they came to Linton, (a village situate on the Tyne, a river of Lothian), they were so disturbed at the sudden coming of Douglass against them, that they left their booty, and all their baggage behind them; and ran away in such fear, that they never stopped till they

came to Berwick. These things were done about the beginning of February in the year 1400.

The same year, upon the return of the heraid, war was denounced against England; and then also Archibald Douglas, surnamed the Austere, a man inferior to none of his ancestors in all kind of praise, fell sick and died, in a very bad time for his country, which had lately lost, by divers misfortunes, so many brave generals before. His son, of the same name, succeeded him. On the 13th of August, the English king with great forces entered Scotland. When he came to Haddington, he staid there three days, and then marched to Leith; and staying there as many days, he laid siege to the castle of Edinburgh. The governor led an army against them, but very slowly; so that it easily appeared, that he did not much care if the castle of Edinburgh was taken by the English; and in it David, the king's son. For by this time his wicked ambition began to shew itself: for he undervalued his brother, as an effeminate person, and sought the destruction of his children as much as he could, that he might enjoy the kingdom himself; so that their loss he counted his gain. But the king of England and his army, on the contrary, acted the enemy with a great deal of moderation, as if, by an ostentation of war, they had only sought for peace; for having made some slight onset on the castle, he raised the siege, and returned home, without doing any considerable damage to the places through which he marched; insomuch that in his marches both backward and forward, he got the praise and commendation of being a mild, clement, and moderate enemy: he was courteous to those that surrendered themselves; he offered no violence to consecrated places; and he even rewarded those bountifully, who had formerly entertained his father. All these practices ingratiated him more, and rendered the governor more odious; in regard he did not prosecute the war with any eagerness, as against an enemy, nor yet endeavour to make so easy and beneficent a king his friend. After Henry was returned for England, George Dunbar continued still to invade the borders, but the inroads he made were more frequent than they were considerable. To suppress him, there was more need of a diligent, than numerous force, and therefore Douglas divided the forces of each county into small bands, and appointed commanders over them; who, by turns, were to stop the enemy, or, if they saw cause, to fight him. The first lot fell upon Thomas Halyburton of Dirlington, who took a great booty from the enemy out of the lands near Bamburgh. But Patrick Hepburn, who wandered farther abroad with a greater band of men, had not the like success; for trusting too much to the numbers of his men, and not being very wary in his retreat with his prey, he was cut off by the English, and with him all the flower of the Lothian soldiery. Archibald Douglas, to revenge the slaughter of his friend, by the consent of the governor, gathered above ten thousand men toge-

ther: abundance of the nobles accompanied him in his march, and among them, Murdo, the governor's son. When they came to Northumberland at Newcastle upon Tyne, they passed the river, and put the country to fire and sword; but there encountering with Henry Piercy the younger, and George Dunbar, in a pitched battle, they were overcome, many of the nobles were slain, Douglas was taken prisoner, having lost one of his eyes; so were also Murdo earl of Fife, Thomas earl of Murray, and George earl of Angus, with many other noble and illustrious persons. And indeed the strength of Scotland was not so much weakened in any one fight for many years before, as it was in this. It was fought at Homeldon, a town in Northumberland, on the 7th of May, in the year of Christ 1401.

Piercy, having obtained so signal a victory, resolved to subject all the country, which lay betwixt Northumberland and the Forth, to the English sceptre; and he thought it would be a work of no great difficulty to compass, in regard most of the nobility of those countries were either slain in the fight, or else his prisoners. Pursuant to this resolution, beginning with Cocklaw a castle in Teviotdale, the governor, agreed, that unless "The castle was relieved by the Scots in fifty days, he would surrender it up." When these conditions were brought to the king, and then to the governor, some were of opinion, that the castle should be surrendered, in regard it was not of that consequence, as for the sake of it, to hazard the strength of the kingdom a second time, which had been so dreadfully shaken and weakened in the late fight. This dejection of spirit proceeded, not so much from any fear of the enemy, as from the perfidiousness of the governor, whose mouth watered after the kingdom. He, on the other side, to avert all suspicion from himself, in high and confident words, affirmed, that the cow-heartedness and confession of public fear, would more encourage the enemy, than the loss of a battle. And if any one thought, that the English would be contented with the taking of one castle, they were very much mistaken; for as fire is more increased by a light aspersion of water, so the desire of the English, upon surrender of some places, would not be extinguished, but rather inflamed to the taking of more; so that what was given up at first, would be but a step to a farther progress: but (says he), if all of you refuse to march out, for the relief of the castle, I myself will go alone; for as long as I live, and am in health, I will never suffer such a mark of disgrace to be branded on the Scottish name. Upon this gallant speech of the governor's, the rest, either extinguishing or dissembling their suspicion, cried out, "That they would follow him." But fortune decided the controversy, and blew off that danger; for Piercy was recalled to the civil war in England, and so the siege was raised without blows.

While these things were acting abroad against the enemy, matters went no better at home: for shortly after the death of Archi-

bald Douglas, the year before, there immediately followed the decease of the queen Annabella, and of Walter Trail, archbishop of St. Andrews, insomuch that all men's minds did presage a great change of affairs. For the splendour of military matters was upheld by Douglas; the ecclesiastical authority and resemblance (in some sort) of ancient discipline, by Trail; and the dignity of the court, by the queen, as did soon appear by what happened after her death. For David, the king's son, was a young man of a fierce disposition, and inclined to wantonness and lust. The indulgence of his father increased those vices; for though he had not authority enough to maintain the reverence due to him, yet by the diligent admonition of those, who were appointed to be David's tutors in his youth, but much more by the counsel and advice of his mother, his youthful heats of temper were somewhat restrained; but when she was dead, he, as now free from this curb, returned to his own manners and lustful courses; for laying aside all shame and fear, he took away other men's wives by force, nay, and virgins too, though well descended; and those that he could not persuade by fair means, he ravished by compulsion; and if any one endeavoured to abridge him in his debauched courses, he was sure never to come off without suffering for it. Many complaints were brought to his father about these his exorbitances; so that he wrote to his brother, the governor, to keep him with him, and to have a strict eye over his conversation, till that spirit of lewdness should abate; and till he gave some hopes of his amendment of life. The governor had now an opportunity put into his hands, to effect what he most desired, and that was, to destroy his brother's issue; so that meeting David three miles from St. Andrews, he carried him into the castle there, which he kept in the nature of a garrison, after the archbishop's death: after a while, he took him from thence, and carried him to his own castle of Falkland; and there shut him up close prisoner, intending to starve him. But that miserable death, to which his uncle's cruelty had designed him, was protracted for a few days, by the compassion of two of the female sex; one was a young maid, whose father was governor of the castle and garrison. She gave him oat-cakes made so thin, that they could be folded up together, (as it is usual in Scotland to make them), and as often as she went into the garden near the prison, she put them under a linen vail or hood, which she did, as it were, carelessly cast over her head, to keep her from the sun, and thrust them into the prison to him through a small crany, rather than a window. The other was a country nurse, who milked her breast, and, by a little canal, conveyed it into his mouth. By this mean fare, which served rather to increase than assuage his hunger, his wretched life and punishment was lengthened out for a little while; till, at length, by the vigilance of the guards, they were discovered and put to death: the father mightily abhorring the perfidiousness of his own

daughter, whilst he endeavoured to manifest his fidelity to an unfaithful regent. The young man being thus left destitute of all human support, having, by force of hunger, gnawed and torn his own flesh, died at length more than a single death. His end was long concealed from his father, though it was commonly known abroad, because no man durst be the messenger of such sad tidings to him.

But to return to the affairs of England, as far as they lie intermingled with our own. When Piercy, and a great number besides of the nobility, had conspired to make war upon their own king, he agrees with Douglas, whom he still held prisoner since the battle of Homeldon, that, if he would improve his interest, by assisting him against the king, as strenuously and as faithfully as he had before done against him, he would set him at liberty without ransom; which Douglas frankly promised him to do, as being willing to omit no opportunity of service against the English king. Hereupon he gathered some of his friends and tenants about him, and prepared himself for the fight, wherein he behaved himself as stoutly, as he promised to Piercy; so that, without regard to the common soldiers, his mind and eye was wholly intent upon the king only; and there being several commanders clothed in royal attire, which was done on purpose by the English, either to deceive the enemy, if they should press hard upon the king; or else that the soldiers, in more places than one, might find him a present witness of their courage or cowardice: Douglas took notice of one of these, who had fine armour, and rushed in upon him with all his might, and unhorsed him. But, he being relieved by those who were next, he did the same to a second, and to a third, who were all attired as kings, (and this Edward Hall, the English writer, affirms, as well as ours), so that he was not taken up so much with the apprehension of his own danger, as an astonishment, from whence so many kings should start up at once. At length, after a terrible and bloody fight, fortune turned about, and the king won the day; Douglas was sadly wounded, and taken amongst the prisoners; and whereas many urged to put him to death, the king saved him, and did not only commend his fidelity to his friend, but also rewarded him for his valour; and when his wounds were cured, after he had staid some months with him, upon the payment of a great sum of money he was released.

In the mean time, the Scottish king heard of the death of David his eldest son, by the unnatural cruelty of his uncle. The author was sufficiently pointed at by private whisperings, though no man dared publicly to accuse so potent a man. Whereupon the king sends for his brother, and sharply expostulates with him concerning the matter. He had prepared his tale beforehand, and charges others with the guilt of the young man's death; as for him and his, they were ready, forsooth, whenever the king pleased to

plead and assert their innocency, in a due course of law; but as for the murderers, some of them he had taken already, and the rest he would make diligent search after. Thus the matter being brought to examination according to law, the author of the wickedness summons a council, sets up accusers, and he, who was impleaded as guilty, was by them acquitted as innocent of the murder. The king imprecated a most dreadful punishment from the God of heaven above, to be poured down on him and his posterity, who had committed that horrid wickedness; and thus, being overpressed with grief and bodily weakness, he returned to Bute whence he came, suspecting more than ever, that his brother had committed the parricide, though he was too powerful to be brought by him to justice and punishment for the same. But he, like a strong dissembler, brings the supposititious authors of the wickedness out of prison, and put them to cruel deaths; it is true, they were lewd persons, yet innocent of that particular fact for which they suffered.

In the mean time, the king advised with his friends, how he might preserve James his youngest son, for whose safety he was very solicitous, and whom he had left in the custody of Walter Wardiloe, archbishop of St. Andrews, an honest man and faithful to him: they gave their opinion, that he could not be safe in any part of Scotland, and that therefore it was best to send him over to Charles VI. king of France, the old ally, and only friend of the Scottish nation; for he could be educated no where more safely and honourably than there. The fresh example of David Bruce stuck yet in their minds, who, in dubious and troublesome times at home, had there, for some years, an honourable retreat and entertainment. Hereupon a vessel was prepared, and he put on board at the Bass, a rock rather than an island. Henry Sinclair, earl of the Orcades, was sent with him as his guide or rector; whilst they were coasting by the shore, he landed at the promontory of Flamborough, either driven in by tempest, or else to refresh himself on shore, after having been very sea-sick; there he was detained by the English, till they sent to their king, who commanded that he should be brought up to court; so that neither the law of the truce, which was made a little before, for eight years, nor the supplicating letters of his father prevailed, but he was kept as a lawful prisoner. For his father, at his departure, had sent letters by him to the king of England, (if possibly he should be necessitated to land there), wherein he made complaining, and lamentable discourses, both of his own, and also of the common fortune of all mankind. But, though the king of England was not ignorant of the inconstancy of human affairs, yet the old grudge against the nation of the Scots more prevailed with him, than either the respect of the youth's innocent age, or the tears of his grieved father, or the dignity of the kingly name, or the faith of the pacification and truce. For having referred the matter

to his council, how he should treat the son of the king of Scots, being arrived in his dominions, those who had any regard to equity, and were weary of the present war, inclined to the milder opinion, viz. that the royal youth, who fled from the cruelty of his own countrymen, and was now their suppliant, should be hospitably and friendly entertained, that so a fierce nation, and unconquered by the war of so many ages, might be won and wrought over to a reconciliation by courtesy. For this they thought "the most solid and firm victory, not when liberty is taken away by force, but when minds are united by the indissoluble bond of amity." Others were of a contrary opinion, that he might be lawfully detained as a prisoner, either because many of the Scots nobility had personally assisted Piercy in the insurrection which he made against the king, or because his father had entertained and relieved Piercy the elder, when he was banished and condemned as a traitor in England.

This opinion (as commonly the worst counsels do) prevailed, though they that were present at the consultation knew well enough, that those Scots who fought against the English king in Piercy's insurrection, were not sent by any public commission from the king, but came out of their private affection to Douglas, who was then also in Piercy's power. They might also have remembered, what Henry himself had answered to the Scots, a few years before, when they demanded George Dunbar to be given up; yet notwithstanding, they stuck to this last opinion, as "commonly in the courts of princes, a false pretence of advantage weighs down honest and righteous counsels;" yet, in one thing Henry dealt nobly and royally with his captive, that he caused him to be educated in learning, and good discipline: this calamity of the son was brought to his father's ears, whilst he was at supper, and did so overwhelm him with grief, that he was almost ready to give up the ghost in the hands of his servants that attended him; but being carried to his bed-chamber, he abstained from all food, and in three days died of hunger and grief at Rothsay, which is a town in the island of Bute, in the sixteenth year of his reign, on the 1st of April, and year of Christ 1406. He was buried at the abbey of Paisley. This Robert, for tallness of stature, and for the beauty and composition of his whole body, was inferior to very few of his contemporaries. His life was very harmless, and there was no virtuous accomplishment, fit for a private man, wanting in him, so that it may be truly said of him, that he was a better man than a king.

After the king's death, the government of the kingdom was settled upon Robert his brother, by the decree of all the estates who had many things in him worthy of that office and dignity; if, out of a blind ambition to rule, he had not used unjust courses to hasten to the throne. He was valiant in war, prudent in counsel, just in judgment, liberal to the nobles, and tender in levying taxes on the

commons. The same year Piercy the elder again entered into a conspiracy against the king, to revenge upon him the deaths of his brother and two sons, who had been slain, but his design was discovered, many of his accomplices taken and put to death, and he himself for fear fled into Scotland, that from thence he might go over into Flanders and France to procure auxiliaries, and renew the war. In the mean time, Henry, the king of England's son, made great incursions into Scotland, both by land and sea: when he was returned home with a great booty, the castle of Jedburgh, which the enemy had kept, from the fight at Durham to that day, was taken by the commons of Teviotdale, pillaged, and then, by the governor's order, wholly demolished: and George earl of March, who had done much damage to his countrymen, in behalf of the English, being not able to procure from them aid to recover his own, nor an honest maintenance amongst them neither, pacified the governor by his friends, and so returned home; yet he lost part of his patrimony, viz. his castles in Lochmaben, and Annandale, which were given to Douglas, for the losses he had sustained; and thus all offences were forgiven on both sides, and he passed the rest of his life in great concord with his neighbours, and faithful subjection to his king.

The next year Piercy, after he had made a vain and fruitless tour over France and Flanders, returned into Scotland to his old friend the earl of March; by whom he was courteously entertained and accommodated according to his estate: there he transacted by private messengers, about returning into his own country, and amongst the rest, he wrote to Ralph Rokesby, his ancient and faithful friend, as he thought, that he did not want force, both of Scots and English, who were ready to assist him to recover his ancient patrimony; provided that he would join his assistance with them. This Ralph was at that time sheriff of Yorkshire, so they there call the officer which presides in chief over juridical assemblies. He enticed Piercy to him upon pretence of giving him aid, and then discovered the conspiracy to the king. Thus the friend was betrayed, his head cut off, and sent to the king at London.

There was also at that time a certain Englishman in Scotland, who called himself Richard II. but falsely, as I suppose. For when Piercy the elder did often and earnestly desire to speak with him, he would not by any persuasion be induced thereunto, fearing, as may be guessed, lest his imposture might be detected by a man, who so well knew his king. Yet he was for some years treated as one of the blood-royal; and that he might live more securely, he feigned himself most averse from any desire of enjoying the kingdom. But at last dying, he was buried in the church of the Franciscan friars at Stirling; the title of king of England being inserted in his epitaph. Not long after, Fastcastle, a very strong castle (as the name intimates) in March, was taken from the English by Patrick

Dunbar, son to George, and therein Thomas Holden, governor thereof, who had infested all the neighbouring places of Lothian, with continual robberies. And moreover, in Teviotdate, William Douglas, and Gavin Dunbar, youngest son to the earl of March, had broken down the bridge of Roxburgh, and burnt the town, but they attempted not the castle, because they were destitute and unprovided of all things necessary for a siege: but the next year after, which was 1411, Donald the Islander, lord of the *Æbudæ*, claiming Ross as the next heir (for so indeed he was) as unjustly taken away from him by the governor, when he could get no right, he levied 1000 islanders, and made a descent on the continent, and so easily seized on Ross, the whole country being willing to return to the subjection of their own just master; but this facility of the Rossians in submitting to him, gave him (whose mind was greedy of prey) encouragement to attempt greater matters. For he passed over into Murray, and there being no force to defend it, he reduced it to his obedience, and then passed farther in his depredations into Strathibogy, and threatened Aberdeen. Against this sudden and unexpected enemy the governor gathered forces; but in regard the greatness, and the near approach of the danger did not admit the expectancy of slow-paced aid, Alexander earl of Marr, the son of Alexander the governor's brother, and almost all the nobility beyond the Tay, at a village called Harlaw, set themselves and their men in battle array against him. The fight was cruel and bloody; for the valour of many nobles did then contend for estate and glory against the savage cruelty of the opposite party; at last the night parted them, and it may be rather said, that they were both weary with fighting, than that either party had the better; so that the event of the fight was so uncertain, that when both sides had reckoned up how many they had lost, each counted himself the conqueror. In this fight there fell so many eminent and noble personages, as scarce ever perished in one battle against a foreign enemy for many years before: and therefore the village which was obscure before, grew famous from it, even to posterity.

This year also public schools began first to be opened at St. Andrews, which was effected rather by the consent of learned men, who offered themselves to be professors of learning, than occasioned by any private or public stipend. The next ten years there was hardly any memorable thing acted betwixt the Scots and English, either because there was a truce made, which yet authors are silent in; or because Henry IV. dying on the 21st day of March, and his son Henry V. presently succeeding him, being all the rest of his life intent on the affairs of France, the English abstained from offering any injury to the Scots. And besides the governor of Scotland did not dare to stir on his side, for fear lest the English should bring back upon them the true heir of the crown, whom he knew

many of the Scots would close with, out of commiseration of his misfortunes. Therefore what inroads were made at that time, were rather robberies than wars. For both Penrith in England was burnt by Archibald Douglas, and Dumfries in Scotland by the English: and likewise there was an exchange of prisoners made, Murdoch the governor's son, taken at Homeldon fight, was exchanged for Piercy, who, when his grandfather's party was subdued in England, was brought into Scotland, and left with the governor; but upon the new king's coming to the crown, he was restored to the dignity of his ancestors. He, though he was not properly a prisoner by the law of arms; yet the unjust detention of James son to the king of Scots, stopt the mouths of the English, that they could not justly complain of any injury in the case: as for Piercy himself, he was so far from resenting it, that as long as he lived, he acknowledged the civility and great friendship of the Scots to him, in all kind of mutual service.

Moreover, the same year an embassy came from the council of Constance, the head whereof was the abbot of Ponteniac; and another from Peter Lune, who had seized on the papacy, and as obstinately kept it. He, by Henry Harding, an English Franciscan, had wrought over the governor to his party, but in vain; for the whole body of the priesthood was against him; for they having assented to the council of Constance had subscribed to the election of Martin V. In the mean time, the king of France, by means of a violent disease, became lunatic, and his distemper was increased by the monks, who pretended to cure him. By this means France was divided into two factions. The head of the one was the duke of Burgundy, who, having slain the king's brother, drew him to the English party. The head of the other was the king's son, who being disinherited by his distracted father, was called by his enemies in a jeer the king of Berry; because he usually kept himself at Bourges in Berry; a town of the Bernois. He, being forsaken by a great part of his own countrymen, and destitute also of foreign aid, in the year 1419, sent the earl of Vendosme his ambassador to the Scots, to demand aid of them, according to the league made betwixt the two nations. The assembly of the estates ordered him seven thousand men: and indeed at that time, in regard the soldiers were increased by reason of the long peace with England, it was no hard matter to make up such a number of men, being only volunteers. John earl of Buchan, the governor's son, was made general of the forces, and many eminent persons followed him; but Archibald earl of Wigton, the son of Archibald the second earl of Douglas, was far more eminent than all the rest. When they came into France, they were sent by the the dauphin (so they call the eldest son of the king of France) into Touraine, a country very plentiful in all sorts of provision, and near to the enemy: for the duke of Clarence, brother to the king of England, was then in France,

instead of the king himself, and made great havoc of the country of Anjou, whose inhabitants remained in their obedience to the French king. And it was thought he would have come as far as the town of Beaux. This was done two days before Easter; whereupon the Scots thinking, that the general would cease from any military action those few days of that feast, (as the custom is) and apply himself to ecclesiastical duties; or (as others say) presuming upon an eight days truce which was made, carried themselves more securely, than otherwise they were wont to do. The duke of Clarence was informed of this, either by Andrew Fregose an Italian, or else by some Scots foragers, whom his horse had taken prisoners; and, having got a fair opportunity for action (as he thought) he rose up presently from dinner, and with his horse only marched toward the enemy; he himself, besides his other gallant furniture and armour, wore on his head a royal diadem set with many jewels. Some few French who were quartered nearest the enemy, in a village called Little Beaux, being terrified with his sudden approach, fled into the tower of a church adjoining; whilst he was assaulting of these, the alarm was given to the rest of the army, and presently in great dismay they all cried out, *To your arms!* The earl of Buchan, while the rest were fitting themselves, sent out 30 archers to take possession of a bridge, which was the only passage over a neighbouring river. There a skirmish began, and Hugh Kennedy, who quartered in a church hard by, came in to them, with one hundred men, who in such a surprise were but half-armed. This party with their arrows hindered the horse from passing over; whereupon Clarence, with the forwardest of his men, leaped from his horse, and maintained the combat on foot; so that in a vigorous charge they repelled the Scots, who were some unarmed, and some but half-armed, from the bridge, and this opened the passage for his men. In the mean time, whilst Clarence was mounting his horse, and his men were passing the narrow bridge a few at a time, the earl of Buchan was at hand with 200 horse; and now both sides being very earnest to shew themselves, a sharp fight began with equal courage and hatred: for the Scots were glad, that they had got an opportunity to give the first proof of their valour, and so to refute the reproaches of the French, who were wont to upbraid them, as “men given more to eating and drinking, than to fighting.” The like reproach the French, are wont to cast upon the Britons; the Spaniards on the French; and the Africans on the Spaniards. On the other side, the English took it in great disdain, that they should be attacked by such an implacable enemy, not only at home, but even beyond the seas; and so they fought stoutly, but none more fiercely than Clarence himself; he being known by his armour, John Swinton ran at him, and with his lance grievously wounded him in the face; and the earl of Buchan also smote him with a trunchcon, and struck him from his horse: when he was

fallen, the English ran away, and were slain in the pursuit even till night. This battle was fought the day before Easter, when the days are short in cold countries, a little after the vernal equinox. There fell of the English in the fight above 2000, amongst which were twenty-six of eminent rank. Many prisoners were taken of good account in their own country; and especially some of the duke's allies: few of the Scots or French were lost, and those of no great note. This is the most common report concerning the death of Clarence; but the Pluscarty book says, that he was slain by Alexander Maccasland, a knight of Lennox, who took off the aforesaid diadem from his head, and sold it to John Stuart of Daruly, for 1000 angels of gold; and he again pawned it to Robert Huston, to whom he owed 5000 angels; this, he says, was the vulgar opinion: the chief praise of this victory was ascribed to the Scots, neither could their greatest detractors deny it. Whereupon Charles the dauphin, created the earl of Buchan lord high constable, which is the highest office in France next the king; the rest of the commanders had also honours bestowed on them, according to their ranks and valour.

Whilst these things were acting in France in the year 1420, Robert governor of Scotland, died the same year, on the third of September, and fifteen years after the death of king Robert III. His son Murdo succeeded in his place, a man of a sluggish disposition, and scarce fit to govern his private family, much less the commonwealth: so that either by his slothfulness, or else his too much indulgence, he so spoiled his children, (for he had three), that in a short time, he brought both them and himself into great calamity, and at last to destruction. This change of domestic affairs caused the earls of Buchan and Wigton, with many of their kindred, to return from France: but, matters being soon settled at home, the dauphin recalled the earl of Buchan, who, with his wife's father Archibald, James his son, and the flower of the Scottish soldiers, sailed into France, leaving his other son the earl of Wigton behind him, who being grievously sick, could not follow him; they landed with 5000 soldiers at Rochelle, and so came to the dauphin at Poitou, where they were joyfully received, and Douglas was made duke of Touraine.

When Henry of England heard of the death of Clarence, he substituted John earl of Bedford, his other brother, in his place, and sent him before into France with 4000 horse and 10,000 foot. He himself followed soon after, and took with him James king of Scots in the expedition: thinking by that means either to insinuate himself with the Scots, who fought against him in France; or else to render them suspected to the French: but he obtained neither of his ends, nor could he prevail with them, at the desire of their own king, so much as to return home, or to stand neuter, and be spectators only of the war: for addressing all the garrisons held

there by the Scots, they made him one general answer, "That
" they could not acknowledge him for their king, who was under
" the power of another man." Henry being offended at their per-
emptoriness and constancy, having taken the town of Meaux by
storm, hanged up twenty Scots that he found there, alleging,
" that they bore arms against their own king." Soon after, he and
Charles VI. king of France, died, immediately one after another.
About two years after, the English prevailed in a battle at Vernevil,
where there were slain of the prime Scots, the earl of Buchan and
Douglas, one duke of Touraine, the other master of the horse to
the French king; and also James Douglas his son, Alexander Lind-
say, Robert Stuart, and Thomas Swinton; and of common soldiers
above 2000. And about three years after, the auxiliary Scots re-
ceived another great overthrow at Beaux, when they were carrying
provisions to Orleans. They set upon the English in the way, in
which fight there were slain of Scots of note, William Stuart with
his brother, and two eminent knights of the family of the Douglasses,
whose posterities do yet enjoy two castles, and large possessions a-
bout them in Scotland, viz. one of them the castle of Drumlanrick,
and the other the castle of Lochleven in Fife. Thus have I briefly
touched upon the actions of the Scots, performed in a few years in
France, as external and foreign occurrences; the further explication
of them is to be had in the French annals, which though they be
not quite alien from the affairs of Scotland, yet I had not stepped
out of my way to mention them, if the calumny of some English
writers had not compelled me to it. For they endeavour to under-
value and speak evil of what they dare not deny; which if histories
did not mention, yet the munificence of the kings, the decrees of
the cities, and the honourable monuments at Orleans and Touraine
do sufficiently declare them. What then can they here object?
The Scots, say they, are too poor to maintain so great a force in a
foreign country. I answer, first, that if their poverty be a fault, it
is the fault of the soil, not of the men; neither would I have taken
this for a reproach, if it did not appear by their writings, that the
English intended it for such; and therefore I shall only answer them
with this, That these poor and beggarly Scots (as they call them),
have got many great and famous victories over the opulent and
wealthy English: and if they do not believe me in this point, let
them consult their own histories: and if they suspend their belief
of them also, let them not require of us to receive them for true in
other things. But to return to the affairs of Scotland.

Murdo being set up, as I just now said, in the place of his father,
he kept a very loose kind of discipline in his own house; his chil-
dren (whose names were Walter, Alexander, and James) despised
their inferiors, and consequently oppressed them with many inju-
ries, and they infected the youth with those vices, to which they
themselves were addicted; and seeing their father did not curb nor

restrain them, at last he was punished himself for giving them such bad education. The old man highly prized a certain bird he had of that sort of hawks, which they call falcons: Walter had often begged him of his father, and was as often denied; so that upon a time he caught it out of his father's hand, and wrung off its neck. To whom his father replied, "Because thou canst not find in thy heart to obey me, I will bring in another, that both thou and I too shall be forced to obey." And from that time forward, he bent his thoughts to restore his kinsman James; an eminent man of Argyle, chief of the country, named Calen Campbell, whom, before Walter had affronted and wronged, approving his design, and assisting him in it; so that he assembled the estates at Perth, and a consultation being held concerning the revocation of their king; they all, either out of favour to the true heir of the kingdom, or out of weariness of the present posture of affairs, willingly agreed to send an embassy to procure his restoration. Some nobles were chosen ambassadors, who coming into England, found the English more inclinable to it than they expected: for the duke of Gloucester, who, in the king's minority, governed the affairs of England, called the council together, and easily persuaded them that James, son to the king of Scotland, should be sent back, at the desire of his people, into his own country; seeing he was not at present of so great authority amongst them, as to be able to recall the Scots auxiliaries out of France, or to draw any part of the kingdom to an alliance with England. And besides, he thought to make another advantage of him, that he would not only be his sure and fast friend, but would always be under the power and influence of England; for if James should marry Joan, the earl of Somerset's daughter, the most beautiful woman of her time (with whom he was mightily in love at that time) he persuaded himself that, by her means, the league with France might be easily undermined; and, if he was once set at liberty, either he would be made a friend to England by that courtesy, or else, whilst he was revenging the wrongs his kindred had done him, he would entangle his country in a dismal intestine war; and, by that means, it would come to pass, that either the English would be made stronger by the addition of such a friend, or, if their Scottish enemies disagreed amongst themselves, they should be more disengaged, and readier for a foreign war. And, indeed, these were no imprudent considerations, if they themselves, by the narrowness of their spirits, had not marred their own markets. For, seeing they demanded a greater sum of money for his redemption, than the Scots, in their present circumstances, either durst promise, or were able to pay, a compromise was made, that the dowry of his wife should be retained, as for one half, and that the sons of some noblemen should be given in hostage, for the payment of the other. James being set at liberty upon these terms,

returned home, eighteen years after he had been a prisoner, in the year of our Lord 1423.

Amidst the great concourse of people which flocked in to see him, and to congratulate his return, he was soon taken up with the complaints of those who grievously lamented what wrongs they had sustained since the last king's death, partly by the negligence, and partly by the injuries of the late governors: Walter the son of Murdo, Malcolm Fleming, and Thomas Boyd, were highly accused, who, to pacify the commons for the present, were committed to several prisons, until the next convention of the estates, which was appointed to be on the twenty-seventh day of May; but Fleming and Boyd, upon payment of damages, and some kind of compensation; and also upon laying down a round sum, which they were fined at, into the king's exchequer, were set at liberty.

JAMES I. *the hundredth and second king.*

IN the mean time, the king, with the queen, was crowned on the 20th day of April; he being placed in the chair of state by his cousin Murdo, (an office belonging to the earls of Fife): a while after, many profitable laws were enacted for the good of the public, but especially to restrain robberies, which, by the licentiousness of former times, had grown to such an height, that laws and magistrates were despised, as if all right had only consisted in the power of arms. Afterwards they consulted how to raise the money due to the English for the king's ransom; for seeing the public treasure was very low, by reason of so many wars, and domestic seditions following upon the wars, the governors having pardoned the offenders, and bestowed rewards on good patriots, so that the king's revenue was mortgaged, and money taken up upon it, he could not pay it of his own, but was forced to crave aid of his subjects; and indeed the nobles, whose sons were left hostages, easily obtained, that an act should pass to that purpose; but in the payment of the money there was not so ready an obedience. For upon a valuation of all moveables, a twentieth part was imposed, which, in so great a want of money, yet plenty, and consequently, cheapness of other things, seemed intolerable to men, who were not accustomed to taxes; and who also were more concerned at the example that might prevail on future times, than for the present damage: and moreover the higher sort were calumniated by the vulgar, as if they had laid too much of the burden upon the shoulders of the poor. But that which troubled the commons most, was the short day appointed for the payment of the tax, for it was commanded to be brought in within fifteen days: and if any one did not pay, his cattle were to be seized upon, either by the lord of the manor, or the sheriff of the county. And, if any one alleged his being in debt, or in arrears of rent to his landlord, the exception did not avail to abate his contribution: and the mischief was

increased by the severity and harshness of the collectors, who did not only thus vex the people; but, by false reckonings, or upon the account of charges, they deducted a great part of the money, which was collected for the public use: besides, the imposition seemed more intolerable, because the former governors had been very remiss and moderate in their levies and cessments, that so they might insinuate themselves into the love of the commons, and by that means keep them off from designing the restitution of their lawful king: and for that cause it was, that when the assembly had given liberty to Robert the king's uncle, to levy a tax, he, to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, refused to let it pass into an act; affirming, "That he had rather pay down so much money of his own, than that the commons should be burdened on such an account." When the king had exacted the first payment, which came in very hardly, and with the ill-will of the people, who complained, that besides the burden of the wars, they had these new taxes imposed upon them, he forgave the rest.

In this assembly, Murdo duke of Albany, Walter and Alexander his sons, Duncan earl of Lennox, his wife's father, and Robert Grame, who, some years after, killed the king, were taken and committed to prison; so were twenty-four more of the chief nobility, but the rest were, in a little time after, set at liberty; Murdo only, with his son, and wife's father, being retained in custody. The same day that Murdo was taken, the king seized upon his castles, as Falkland in Fife, and Down in Monteith; out of which his wife was carried to the castle of Tintallon in Lothian. James his youngest son, hearing of the havoc that was making among his family, gathered a band of men together, and burnt the town of Dumbarton, and slew John Stuart (the king's uncle) surnamed Rufus, and thirty-two of his followers; and then he fled into Ireland, where he died shortly after. There also Finlaw, bishop of Lismore, one of the Dominican order who fled with him, and was his counsellor in all his affairs, departed this life. The wife of Walter, with her two sons, Andrew and Alexander, and Arthur a base-born son, fled likewise into Ireland, who, in the reign of James III. returned again, and were endowed with great honour. The same year, in an assembly of the estates at Stirling, Murdo, with his two sons, and wife's father, were brought out of prison, to be tried according to law; the proceedings were after the custom of the country, which was thus: Some man eminent for wisdom and authority is chosen out to be president of the court, and he hath at least twelve assessors joined with him, who are to hear the crimes objected, and to pass sentence on the prisoner, or party accused, according to their oaths. These judges are usually of the same quality with the party accused; or at least, of the next condition to him, as near as may be: the prisoner hath power to except against his judges, when the number of twelve, and some-

times more, is completed; and when the crimes are weighed, the sentence is pronounced according to the majority of voices. In this case, judges being chosen according to custom, it is not material to mention their names, (but certainly they were persons of repute, and some of them nearly related to the accused), the prisoners were condemned of high treason. The two young men were put to death the same day; their father and grand-father, by the mother's side, the day after, on a little rising hill, over against the castle of Stirling. There goes a constant report, though I find it not mentioned in history, that the king sent to Isabella, wife of his cousin-german, the heads of the father, husband, and sons, to try whether so fierce a woman, out of impatience of grief (as it sometimes comes to pass) would not reveal the secrets of her mind: but though she was much disturbed at the sudden spectacle, yet she gave no intemperate language, only answered, "That if the crimes objected were true, the king had done justly and according to law."

When the assembly was ended, John Montgomery, and Humphry Cunningham, were sent by the king to take a castle in Murrin-island in Loch Lomond, which was held in the name of James Stuart the fugitive; and they reduced it accordingly. And, not long after, John Stuart of Darnly, (who when the Scots commanders in France were several ways destroyed, was made general of the horse amongst them), together with the archbishop of Rheims, came into Scotland, to renew the ancient league with the French, and to contract a marriage between Louis the son of Charles VII. and Margaret daughter of James, both of them but children at that time. These matters being accomplished, the next year, which was 1426, all Scotland was subdued within the mount Grampius: and the king took heart to proceed farther in his conquests. And first he caused the castle of Inverness to be repaired, which is situate in a convenient place in the farthest part of Murray. Two years after going thither to administer justice, and suppress robberies, he sent for the chief of all the families, especially of those who were wont to issue out with great troops, and fetch in booties from the neighbouring countries, raising contributions upon them in times of peace, and forcing the poor people to supply them with victuals while they lived an idle life. Some of those robbers had 1000, some 2000, some more partizans at their command, by which means, good people were kept under for fear of danger; and the bad, who found a sure refuge amongst them, were made bold to commit all manner of wickedness. The king had got most of them into his power, some by threats, others by flatteries; but he committed about forty of the chief of them to prison, and upon trial, two of the most villainous, Alexander Macrory, and John Macarthur, were hanged up; James Campbell was likewise put to death for the murder of John the Islander, one of note in his country; the rest were divided into several prisons,

of which some afterwards suffered death, and others were freely set at liberty. Thus the heads of the faction being either slain or kept prisoners, the king judged the common sort, thus deprived of their leaders, would not stir, and therefore he persuaded them by kind and gentle words, to do what was just, and to place the hopes of their safety in nothing else but the innocency of their lives. If they would do so, he would be always ready to honour and reward them; if not, they might take example by the punishment of others, and most certainly expect the like themselves.

When other matters were thus composed; yet the king had still with him Alexander the Islander, one of the most potent persons in the land, next the king himself; for he commanded over all the Æbudæ; and besides, he had an accession of the fertile county of Ross, by means of his mother, who was daughter to Walter Lesly, late earl of Ross. He having committed many cruel and flagitious acts, was thereupon in great fear of the king, whom yet he found very exorable by the mediation of his friends; insomuch that he was courteously invited to court, and kindly entertained there; and having obtained a pardon for what was past, great hopes of favour were propounded to him, if he would inure himself to a more quiet and obedient carriage and deportment for the time to come, and so he was sent home. But he was so far from being thankful to the king for his pardon, and afterwards for his liberty; that he thought he had great wrong done him, that he was kept some days in prison. And therefore, as soon as he was returned to his old comrades, he gathered a company of them together, who were accustomed to live upon the spoil, and went to Inverness, in a seemingly peaceable manner; where, being hospitably entertained, he suffered his followers to pillage the town, and after he had set fire to the houses, he laid siege to the castle; but hearing of a force coming against him, was compelled to raise his siege, and marched in great haste to Lochaber; there, by reason of the advantage of the place, he resolves to put himself upon the fortune of a battle, with that army which he had with him, which were ten thousand men, hardened to the wars. But two tribes or clans, of those who followed him chearfully to the plunder, when they heard of the king's preparations made against them, deserted him; to wit, the Catans and the Camerons, called vulgarly, Clan-chattan, and Clan-cameron.

Being thus deprived of part of his strength, and having no great confidence in the fidelity of the rest, he began to think of hiding himself again; and so, dismissing his army, he retired with some few into the Æbudæ, and there consulted concerning his flight into Ireland. But presuming that even there he could not be safe from the wrath of the king, he thought it best to fly to his last refuge, viz. the king's mercy and clemency, which before he had so largely experienced. But here his thoughts were at a

loss, betwixt hope and fear, when he considered what mischiefs he had done at his first revolt, and after the king had graciously pardoned him, with what perfidiousness and cruelty he had again broke forth, and so had cut off all hopes of farther indemnity; and therefore was in great doubt and perplexity, whether he should commit himself, his life, and his fortune to the king's anger, that was so justly grounded against him. In these circumstances he resolved to take a middle course, between being a fugitive and a surrenderer, which was, to send agents to court to beg pardon for his offences, and to incline the king's heart to lenity towards him. And for this service he chose quiet moderate men, and not at all infected with the same villanies of which he himself had been guilty; and on that account not unacceptable to the king; yet notwithstanding, they could obtain no other answer from him, but that he would hear nothing unless Alexander would put himself into his hands; neither would he treat with him as long as he was absent. Alexander cast up all his dangers in his mind, and foreseeing that he could be safe no where from the king's fury, resolved to chuse a fit time and place, and so to throw himself upon his mercy; for he thought he would count it a shame to injure, or punish an humble suppliant. Accordingly he comes privately to Edinburgh, where the king then was, and on Easter-day, when our Lord's resurrection is celebrated with great solemnity, he threw himself at the king's feet, having a linen cloke, or plaid about him, with which he was rather covered than clothed; and in a speech composed to excite compassion, put himself into his hands, and begged his life and estate. His habit, the time and place, and so great and sudden a change of fortune, much affected the persons then present. The queen and the nobles, who were there, interceded with the king for him, and did so far incline and affect his mind, that they were commanded to stay till their devotions were ended. In the interim, the king pondered every thing with himself, and thought it not safe to dismiss so perfidious, so potent, and so factious a person, without any punishment at all; and yet, on the other hand, to make some gratification to the request of the queen, he thought it best to keep him alive in safe custody; for, by this means, he might gain an opinion of clemency, and, at the same time, prevent his having opportunity to do farther mischief; provide for the security of the common people; and withal terrify others by his example. Upon this he was sent prisoner to Tintalton castle, and his mother, a fierce woman, was banished into the island of Inchcolm. For it was thought that she would have excited him to new attempts.

The licentiousness of Alexander being thus repressed, yet were not all things quiet in the northern countries. For the men of Caithness and Cameron, who, the year before, had deserted Alexander, fell out grievously among themselves; and fought one ano-

ther with so great eagerness, that many of Caithness were slain, but the Cameronians were almost all lost. In the Æbudæ likewise, where it was thought things would be quiet by reason of Alexander's exile, new commotions were raised by Donald Baloch, cousin-german to Alexander, on pretence of revenging the wrong done to his kinsman. To quell this insurrection, Alexander and Alan, both Stuarts, one earl of Caithness, the other of Marr, gathered some of their countrymen together, and went into Lochaber to meet Donald, (for the report was, that he would make his descent there), where they waited his coming. He, perceiving that they kept no order, but were without tents or guard, in the fourth watch, landed his men without any noise, and so set upon them unexpectedly, whilst they were half asleep, and made a great slaughter amongst them. Alan, with almost all his brigade, was lost there; and Alexander, with a few, saved his life by flight. Donald was exalted with this success, and so wasted all Lochaber with fire and sword, no man daring to oppose him; but, at length, hearing that the king was making towards him with a greater force, he packed up his large bundles of pillage, sent them a shipboard, and returned into the Æbudæ. The king marched as far as Dunstaffnage after him, and there saw the ruin and fearful devastation which had been made: it put him to an excess of rage, and he was about to pass over into the islands, but the chiefs of their families came with their humble supplications to him, alleging, that there was no general guilt in the case, because nothing had been acted by public advice, but all the fault lay at the door of Alexander, and of some indigent and lewd persons that sided with him. The king answered, he would not admit of their excuse, unless they would apprehend the authors of those wicked and pernicious practices, and deliver them up to him to be punished: when they had promised to do their endeavour in it, the king let some of them go to find out the robbers; the rest he kept in the nature of hostages: those who were dismissed slew many of the thieves, and brought three hundred of them prisoners to the king, (Donald himself, for fear of punishment being fled away), who caused them all to be hanged.

Though this punishment of the robbers made things a little more quiet in the Æbudæ and the neighbouring parts, just for the present; yet the unquiet dispositions of some wicked and turbulent men, would not suffer that calm to be long-lived. The king, at the desire of his nobles, had released two of the Angus's, Duifus, and Murray, commanders of the thieves. These turned their fury upon one another, meeting in equal numbers, (for each of them maintained about 1500 partisans out of the spoils of the people.) They fought so obstinately, that there was scarce any one left on either side to be messengers of the slaughter; for some say there were but twelve, others but nine, left alive; so that the king, who was equally angry with both, had scarce any of them left to inflict a punishment upon.

And yet their calamity did not restrain one Macdonald from his wonted savageness. He was a noted robber, born in Ross, whose wicked disposition was excited by the impunity of the former times; so that he (as we say) kinged it a long time among his neighbours. Amongst the rest, they say, he committed one fact superlatively cruel. A widow woman that was robbed by him, bemoaned her case in a most lamentable manner, and ever and anon cried out; that she would complain to the king. Wilt thou so? says he: then to the intent thou mayest the better perform thy journey, I myself will assist thee: and so, calling a smith, he caused him to nail horse shoes to the soles of her feet; and not contented with that act of cruelty, he added contumelious speeches, and played upon her with words of mockery and contempt, telling her, that she was now more fenced against the roughness of the ways; and he shewed her, thus shod, as a laughing-stock to those that passed by. The woman being of a fierce and stern disposition, and rather enraged than terrified by his reproaches, as soon as she was able to go, went to the king, and laid before him the whole matter of fact. The king had heard the same before from others; and having then the offender in prison, bid the woman be of good heart; for she should speedily see the same punishment inflicted on the inventors of it; and accordingly, he caused Macdonald, and twelve of his accomplices, to be brought out of prison, and to have their feet shod with iron nails, and so to be carried three days about the city, a crier going before, and declaring the cause of this new punishment; then the captain was beheaded, and his twelve associates hanged, all their bodies being set upon gibbets in the high-ways.

These new crimes, which a pardon once obtained had not prevented, made the king more eager to find out Donald the Islander. And therefore, being informed that he lay concealed in a nobleman's house in Ireland, he sent messengers to him to deliver him up to punishment: the nobleman, fearing that if he should send him away alive, through so long a tract both by land and sea, he might possibly make his escape, and then his enemies might allege, that it was done by his connivance, caused him to be slain, and sent his head to the king by his own messenger. Open robberies being thus diligently suppressed, the king endeavoured to extirpate some secret crimes and evil underhand practices; and, in order to accomplish this great and good work, he made choice of eminent persons, much commended for their prudence and sanctity, giving them power to travel all over the kingdom to hear complaints; and if there were any offences complained of to them, which ordinary judges, either for fear durst not, or for favour and affection would not intermeddle with, then they themselves should hear the case, and determine it. And moreover, he added one to their number, who was to correct and rectify weights and measures, a thing very necessary; seeing then, not only every city, but almost every house,

used a different kind of measure: in a parliament he made wholesome laws to this purpose, and caused iron measures to be set up in certain places, and sent out one to all markets and fairs, which was to regulate all the measures according to that standard; and a heavy punishment was to be inflicted on him who used any other measure, than that which was thus signed with a public mark.

Whilst he was transacting these things for the public good, in the year 1430, the 14th day of October, his queen was brought to bed of twins, which occasioned a day of public rejoicing; and the king, to add something to the popular mirth, forgave former offences to noblemen, the chief of whom were Archibald Douglas, and John Kennedy, who, because they had spoken too rashly and unadvisedly concerning the state and government of the realm, had been made prisoners, Douglas in the castle of Loch Leven, and Kennedy in the castle of Stirling. And as a further testimony of his reconciliation to Douglas, he made him godfather (as we call him) at the baptizing of his children, which is wont to be accounted a matter of great honour, and a token of intimate friendship; and moreover, he made his son one of the knights which were created, as so many witnesses of the public joy on this occasion. The other parts of his kingdom being thus purged and amended, he next turned his thoughts to the reforming of the ecclesiastical state; but the priests could not be corrected by the civil magistrate; for the kings of Europe having been long engaged in mutual wars, the ecclesiastical order had, by little and little, withdrawn themselves from their obedience, and obeyed only the pople of Rome; and he indulged their vices, partly because he was a gainer by them, and partly because he might make kings the more subject to his pleasure, by reason of the great power of the clergy in their kingdoms. Hence it was he resolved to prevent their tyranny, the best and only way he was able; for seeing it was not in his power to amend what was past, nor to turn out unworthy men from those preferments, which they once were possessed of, he thought to provide the best he could for the future; which was to set up public schools for learning, and liberally to endow them; because these would be seminaries for all orders of men; and whatsoever was excellent or noble in any commonwealth, took from thence its origin as from a fountain. Thus he drew learned men to him by rewards; nay, he himself would be sometimes present at their disputations; and when he had any vacation from civil affairs, he delighted to hear the conference of the learned; endeavouring by that means to eradicate the false opinion which many nobles had imbibed, viz. that learning drew men off from action to sloth and idleness, and softened military spirits, either breaking, or at least weakening all their vigorous efforts; so that the study of letters was only fit for monks, who were immured as it were in a prison, and good for no other use. But, alas! the monks as they had degenerated from the sim-

plicity and parsimony of their ancestors, so they had turned themselves wholly from the culture of their minds, to the care of their bodies: and learning was as much neglected by the rest of the priesthood also; and especially for this cause, "That benefices
" were bestowed on the most slothful, and worst persons of noble-
" men's families, which were unfit for other employments; or else
" they were intercepted by the fraud of the Romanists; so that a
" parsonage was nothing else but a reward for some piece of ser-
" vice, and that sometimes none of the best." And besides, there was another mischief which added much to the corrupting of ecclesiastical discipline, and that was, the orders of *begging friars*. These friars at the beginning, pretended great sanctity of life; and so easily imposed upon the people to hear them rather than their parish-priests, who were commonly gross-bodied and heavy-headed fellows. Nay, those parish-curates or priests, as they grew rich, did scorn to do their own work themselves, but would hire these friars (for so they called themselves) for a small yearly stipend, to preach a few sermons in the year to the people. In the mean time, they withdrew into cities, and there chanted out their idle songs, as it were, after a magical manner, not knowing what they said; and there was none of them that hardly ever turned an eye towards his own parish, but when his tithes were to be collected. By degrees they even withdrew themselves from this office of singing at certain hours, in cathedrals and churches; which, though it were but a light, was yet a daily service; and hired some threadbare beardless drudges to supply their places in singing masses and other prayers; and so by muttering and mumbling out a certain task and jargon of psalms, which was appointed every day, they made a collusive kind of a tragedy; sometimes contending in alternate verses and responses, other while making a chorus between the acts, which at last closed with the image or representation of the death of Christ. And the friars, their hirelings, on the one side, did not dare to offend their masters, on whom their livelihood depended; neither yet, on the other, could they bear their insolence, joined with so much avarice; so that they pitched upon a middle way, that they might engage them to make easier payment of their pensions: they oftentimes bitterly inveighed against their lust and avarice before the people, who gave ear to their doctrine; and when they had raved enough in their sermons, to keep them in fear, and also to conciliate the minds of the vulgar, they took up, and consulted for themselves also in time, seeing they were likewise in ecclesiastical orders. They told them, that whatever the disorders were, yet the order of priesthood was a *sacred* thing, and that the temporal or civil magistrate, had no power to punish them: they were only responsible to God, and to the pope, (who had almost equal power with God) and because, their avarice increasing with their luxury, they thought they should not squeeze gain enough

from the people, therefore those friars set up a new kind of tyranny, holding forth in their sermons the merit of works. Hence arose *Purgatory*, and the *cleansing* of souls (which the pope was pleased to detain there) by the *sacrifices* (forsooth) of the *mass*, by the sprinkling of *holy water*, by *alms* and *pensions* given or offered, by *indulgencies*, *pilgrimages*, and *worshipping* of *relics*: the friars being exercised in this kind of bartering trade and chaffer, in a little time claimed the power to themselves, both over the *living* and the *dead*.

In this ill condition James I. found church-affairs in Scotland: and therefore he thought it the most compendious way to restore the old discipline, if good and learned men were admitted to benefices. And to increase the emulations of young scholars, he told the masters and governors of universities and schools, that because he himself was hindered by the public affairs of state, so that he could not consider every student's particular merit, they should therefore be very careful to commend learned and virtuous young scholars to him, that he might gratify them with church preferments; who being thus advanced, might not only be useful to the people by their doctrine and example, but also might assist the meaner and poorer sort of those that were designed for churchmen with their substance; and so far to relieve their poverty, that good wits might not be compelled for want, to break off their studies and course of learning, and betake themselves to mechanic, sordid, or mercenary trades and employments. And, to the end that good men might, with more diligence, apply themselves to learning, and the slothful might know, that their only way to preferment was by virtue, he distinguished students by their degrees, that so every one might know, what preferment he was qualified for. And truly, if succeeding kings had followed this course, we had never fallen into these times, when the people cannot endure the vices of the priests, nor the priests the remedy of those vices. Neither was the king ignorant, that the church was incumbered with those great mischiefs under which it then laboured, by reason of its immoderate wealth; and therefore he did not approve the prodigality of former kings, in exhausting their treasury to enrich monasteries; so that he often said, "That though David was otherwise the best of king's, yet his profuse piety, so praised by many, was prejudicial to the kingdom;" but however, he himself, as if he had been carried away by the rapid torrent of evil custom, could not withhold his hand from building a monastery for the Carthusians near Perth; nor from endowing it with large revenues. One thing was very admirable in him, that, amidst the greatest cares for the high affairs of the public, he thought the most inferior and private matters not unworthy of his royal notice, provided any benefit accrued to the public from them. For as Scotland had been exercised with continual wars, from the death of Alexander III. for almost 150 years together, during which long space of time,

her cities had been so often spoiled and burnt, and her youth generally made soldiers, so that other trades were much neglected, he invited tradesmen of all sorts to come over from Flanders, proposing great rewards and immunities to them; by which means he filled his cities (almost empty before, in regard the nobility resided, according to ancient custom, in the country) with this sort of men; neither did he only, by this means, render the towns apparently more populous; but he likewise engaged a great number of idle and vagrant people to turn to the works of industry and honest labour; and it came from hence to pass, that what was with small cost made at home needed not, with far greater, be fetched from abroad.

Yet, while he was thus strengthening all the weak parts of his kingdom by proper remedies, he got the dislike of his subjects to a great degree, especially for two reasons. The one seemed light in appearance, yet it was that which is the beginning of almost all calamity to a people. For when peace was universally settled, idleness, luxury, and the wanton lust of ruining first the peace itself, and then other blessings, were its immediate ill consequences. Hence arose sumptuous feasting, drinking, caresses by day and night, masquerades and balls, delight in strange apparel, stateliness of houses, not for necessary use, but to please the eye; a corruption of manners, falsely called politeness, and in all things a general contempt of the country customs; so that nothing (forsooth) was accounted handsome or comely enough, but that which was perfectly novel, and out of the way. The commonalty were willing to shew, that the fault of these innovations lay not at their door, they put the blame on the English courtiers who followed the king; and yet they did not inveigh against such wanton and pleasurable courses, more bitterly in their words than they studiously practised them in their lives. But the king obviated this mischief as much as he could, both by wholesome laws, and also by his own good example; for he kept himself in his apparel and frugality, within the rate of the richer sort of private men; and if he saw any thing immoderate or extravagant in any body's way of living, he shewed by his countenance, and sometimes by his words, that it was displeasing to him. By this means, the course of increasing luxury was somewhat restrained, rather than the new intemperance extinguished; and the old parsimony restored. His other fault was talked of abroad by his enemies, and afterwards broke forth into a public mischief. Robert, the king's uncle, and Murdo his cousin-german, who had the regency of the kingdom for many years, aspiring to the throne, and yet not knowing how to remove James out of the way, they did (what was next to it) so engage the affections of men to them, that the better sort might not miss a king very much, nor have any ardent desires after him: for they used such great moderation in the management of affairs, that their go-

vernment seemed to many, not only tolerable, but very desirable, if Walter, Murdo's son, had but carried it with the like popularity and moderation. For they so engaged the nobles to them, by their liberality and munificence, that some enjoyed the crown lands by connivance; to others they gave them outright, and, in favour of some particular men, they cancelled proceedings and judgments in law, and restored some who had been banished, and amongst them, one eminent and potent person, George Dunbar, earl of March; who, during his exile, had done much mischief to his country; and by this means they hoped to ingratiate themselves to such a degree with the nobility, that they would never so much as think of calling home the king; and then if James died without issue, the kingdom would come to them without any competitor: but if he should chance to return from his banishment, yet their faction would be so powerful, that if the king bore them a grudge, they were able to defend themselves by force against him. But when the king did actually return, the old favour and respect borne to the uncle, seemed to be almost extinguished by the new injuries and flagitiousness of his son Walter; so that it plainly appeared, that "nothing was more popular than justice." And therefore the people were not only consenting, but also contributed their assistance to the execution of Murdo, the father, and his two sons, and to the banishment of a third; so that the king's revenue was augmented by the confiscation of their estates: and also by the accession of the estates of John earl of Buchan, who died childless in France, and of Alexander earl of Marr, who was also childless, and a bastard, who died at home; concerning whom I shall speak a few words by way of digression.

This Alexander was the son of Alexander, son to king Robert: in his youth, by the ill advice of some bad men, he turned to be a commander amongst thieves; but when he came to man's estate, he was so reformed, that he seemed plainly to be quite another man; so that his vices gradually decreasing, by the benefit of wholesome counsel, he so managed things, both at home and abroad, that he left a memory behind him precious to posterity. For at home he quelled the insurrection of the islanders at Harlaw, making great slaughter of them: and so he extinguished a dangerous war, in the very rise and bud; and though he had great wealth, well-gotten, and had bought many good estates, insomuch, that he exceeded his neighbours, yet he addicted not himself to idleness or pleasure, but went with a good party of his countrymen into Flanders, where he followed Charles duke of Burgundy, against the Luick-landers, or people of Liege: in which war he got both estate and honour, and besides, he married richly in Holland, an island of the Batavians; but the Hollanders, not being able to bear the government of a stranger, he returned back, and provided a fleet with great cost, yet to no great purpose, because it was against men, who were very

well provided both with land and sea forces. At length he set upon their numerous fleet, returning from Dantzick, which he took and pillaged, and slew the mariners, and burnt the ships, so that he repaid the enemy for the loss he received from them, with very great interest; nay, he so subdued the fierceness of their minds, that they desired a truce for an hundred years, and obtained it: he also caused a noble breed of mares to be brought as far as from Hungary into Scotland, whose race continued there for many years after.

These excessive rich earls dying without issue, Buchan and Marr, their patrimonial inheritances descended rightfully to the king. And moreover, he alone enjoyed all the possessions of the three brothers, sons to king Robert II. by his last wife; but not without the grudges of the nobility (who had been accustomed to largesses) that he alone should enjoy all the prey, without sharing any part of it amongst them. Further, they conceived another, and a fresher cause of offence, that the king had revoked some grants made by Robert and Murdo, the last regent, as unjust. Amongst those grants, there were two very remarkable; George Dunbar, who was declared a public enemy, was afterwards recalled by Robert, and part of his estate restored to him. His son George succeeded him in it, to the joy of many; who were well pleased, that such an ancient and noble family, which had so often deserved well of their country, were restored to their ancient dignity. But the king, who looked narrowly (and perhaps too pryingly) into his revenue, was of opinion, that the power to restore incapacities, to recal exiles, and to give back their goods forfeited for treason, and so brought into the king's exchequer, was too great for one that was but a guardian of another man's kingdom, and chosen but as a tutor only, especially, since largesses made in the minority of princes, by the old laws of Scotland, might be recalled, if not confirmed by their respective kings, when they came to be of age. And therefore James, that he might reduce the March-men into his power without noisc, in regard they were a martial people, and borderers upon England, detains George with him, and sends letters to the governor of the castle of Dunbar, commanding him, on receipt of them, immediately to surrender it up to William Douglas, earl of Angus, and Alexander Hepburn of Hales whom he had sent to take possession of it. George took from thence a handle to complain, that he was wrongfully dispossessed of his ancient patrimony for another's fault; and such a fault too as was forgiven by him, who then had the supreme power. The king, to pacify him, and to proclaim his clemency amongst the vulgar, bestowed Buchan upon him. This fact of the king's was variously spoken of, as every one's humour and disposition led him. And moreover, there was also another action, which much hastened his end, the beginning whereof is to be fetched a little higher.

I said before, that king Robert II. had three sons by his concubine, he had also two by his wife Euphemia, Walter, earl of Athol, and David, earl of Strathern; yet, when their mother the queen was dead, he married the concubine before mentioned, that so he might by that marriage legitimate the children he had by her, and leave them heirs to the crown; and accordingly, at his death, he left the kingdom to the eldest of them; to the second he gave great wealth, and the regency also; the third was made earl of several counties. In this matter, though his other wife's children thought themselves wronged, yet being younger, and not so powerful as they, they smothered their anger for the present. And besides, their power was somewhat abated, by the death of the earl of Strathern, who left but only one daughter behind him, afterwards married to Patrick Graham, a young nobleman, and one of a very potent family in that age, by whom he had Meliss Graham; his parents were but short-lived, and the child a few years after, being yet a stripling, was sent as an hostage into England, till the money for the king's ransom was paid. But the earl of Athol, though every way too weak for the adverse faction, yet never gave over his project to cut off his kindred, nor laid aside his hopes of recovering the kingdom; and, because he was inferior in open force, he craftily fomented their divisions and discords, and invidiously made use of their dangers to promote his own ends, so that by his advice that large family was reduced to a few. For many were of opinion, that he gave the counsel to take off David, king Robert's son; and James had not escaped him neither, unless he had past a good part of his life in England, far from home; for he gave advice to the earl of Fife, that seeing his brother was a drone, he himself should seize on the kingdom. When the king had lost all his children, and was obnoxious to his brother's will, and not long after died of grief himself, there was then only the regent of the kingdom, with his children, that stood in bar to his hopes, in regard he was an active man, of great wealth, power, and authority, and moreover very popular, and had a great many children. These considerations, in some measure, retarded his counsels; but when Robert died of a natural death, and his son John was slain in the battle of Vernevil, then he resumed his former project with greater earnestness than ever, and bent all his mind and endeavours how to restore James to his liberty, and set him at variance with Murdo and his children. And, seeing they could not all of them stand safe together, which soever of them fell, he foresaw, that his hope would be advanced one step higher to the kingdom. And when James was returned into his country, Athol turned every stone to hasten Murdo's destruction; he suborned men fit for the turn, to forge crimes against him, and he himself sat judge upon him and his sons. And they being cut off, there was only James left, and one little son, a child not then

above five years old. And if James was but slain by the conspiracy of the nobles, he did not doubt but himself, who was then the only remaining branch of the royal stock, should be advanced to the administration of the government. Athol was taken up with these thoughts night and day, yet he concealed his secret purposes, and made a great shew of loyalty to the king, in helping to rid his kindred out of the way; for that was his only contrivance, that by the ill offices of others he might increase his own power, and diminish that of his enemies.

In the mean time, Meliss Graham, (who, as I said before, was given in hostage to the English,) was deprived of Strathern; because the king, making a diligent inquiry into his revenue, found that it was given to his grandfather by the mother's side, upon condition, that if the male line failed, it should return to the king, in regard it was a male fee, as the lawyers term it. This innocent young man's loss, who was absent, and also an hostage, moved many to commiserate his case; but Robert, his tutor, took it so heinously, that it made him almost mad. For he, taking the case of his kinsman more impatiently than others, ceased not to accuse the king openly of injustice; and being summoned to answer for it in law, he appeared not, and was for that reason banished the land. This made his fierce mind more enraged for revenge, as being irritated by a new injury; so that he joined secret counsels with those, who had their estates confiscated as well as he; or who took the punishments of their friends, though justly inflicted, in great disdain; or who accused the king as a covetous man, because he was so intent upon his gain, that he had not rewarded them according to their expectations: and besides, he lamented, that not only many noble families were brought to ruin, but that the wardships of young nobles, which were wont to be the rewards of valiant men, were now altogether in the king's hands; so that all the wealth of the kingdom was almost in one hand, and others might starve for misery and want, under one who was so unjust and unequal, in putting a value upon their labours.

Now that for which he upbraided him concerning wardships, was this: it is the custom in Scotland, England, and some parts of France, that young gentlemen or nobles, when their parents die, should remain under the care of those whose feudatories they are, till they arrive at the age of 21 years; and all the profits of their estates, (except the charges necessary for their education,) and also the dowry given with their wives, comes to such their tutors and guardians. Now these tutelages, or (as they are commonly called) wardships, were wont to be sold to the next of kin, for a small sum of money; or sometimes well-deserving men were gratified with them, who either expected gain by the purchase of such wardships, or a reward by the gift of them. But now they were much vexed that the king took them all to himself; neither did they conceal their

vexation and displeasure. When the king heard of these murmurings and complaints, he excused the thing, as done by necessity, because the public revenue had been so lessened by former kings and governors, that he could not maintain his family like himself, nor be decently guarded and attended, nor yet give any magnificent entertainment to ambassadors, without them. Besides, he alleged that this care of the king, in providing money by all just and honest ways, was not unprofitable to the nobility themselves, whose greatest damage was, to have the king's exchequer low. For in such circumstances, kings were wont to extort by force from the rich what they could not be without; nay, sometimes, they were forced to burden and vex the commons too, by exacting taxes and payments from them; and that the parsimony of the king was far less prejudicial to the public, by putting a restraint upon immoderate donations, than his profuseness was wont to be, for then he was still forced to seize on other men's estates, when his own was consumed. This answer satisfied all those who were moderate; but those who were more violent, and who rather sought after occasions of complaint, than any just excuse for excesses, were more vehemently enraged by it.

This was the state of Scotland, when ambassadors arrived out of France to fetch Margaret, James's daughter, who had before been betrothed to Louis, son of Charles VII. home to her husband. That embassy brought on another from the English; for, seeing that the duke of Burgundy's friendship was removed from them, and that he meditated a revolt, and that Paris, and other transmarine provinces, were up in a tumult, the English fearing, lest, when all the strength of their kingdom was drawn out to the French war, the Scots should invade them on the other side; they sent ambassadors into Scotland, to hinder the renovation of the league with France, and the consummation of the marriage, but rather to persuade a perpetual league with them, who were born in the same island, and used the same language. And if they would do so, and solemnly swear, that they would have the same friends and enemies with the English, then they promised that their king would quit his claim to Berwick, Roxburgh, and other places and countries which were before in controversy betwixt the nations.

James referred the request of the English to the assembly of the estates then met at Perth; where, after a long debate upon it, the ecclesiastics were divided into two factions; but the nobility cried out, that they knew well enough the fraud of the English, who, by this new league, sought to break their old band of alliance with the French, that so when the Scots had lost their ancient friend, they might be more obnoxious to them, if at any time they were freed from other cares, and could wholly attend to a war with Scotland; and that the liberal promises of the English aimed at no other end; but as for themselves, they would stand to their old

league, and not violate the faith which they had given. The English being thus repulsed, turn from petitions to threats, and seeing they refused to embrace their friendship, they declared war, telling the Scots, that if their king sent over his betrothed daughter into France, one that was an enemy to the English, the English would hinder their passage if they could, and even take them prisoners, and their retinue too, having a fleet ready fitted for that purpose. This commination of the ambassadors was so far from terrifying James, that he rigged his navy, and shipped a great company of noblemen and ladies for his daughter's train, and so caused them to set sail sooner than he had determined, that he might prevent the designs of the English. And yet, notwithstanding all this precaution, it was rather to be attributed to God's providence, than to the care of men, that she came not into the enemy's hands; for when they were not far from the place, where the English, concealing themselves, waited for their coming; behold! upon a sudden, a fleet of Dutchmen appeared, laden with wine from Rochelle to Flanders. The English fleet made after them with all their sail, (because the Burgundians being, a little before, reconciled to the French, opposed their enemies with all their might), and their ships, being swift sailers, they presently came up with them, being heavy laden, and unarmed, and as easily took them; but before they could bring them into port, the Spaniards set upon them unawares, and took away their prey, and sent the Flandrians safe home. Amidst such changeable fortune betwixt the three nations, the Scots landed at Rochelle without seeing any enemy: they were met by many nobles of the French court, and were brought to Tours, where the marriage was celebrated, to the great joy and mutual gratulation of both nations.

Upon this occasion, the English writers, especially Edward Hall, and he that pilfers from him, Grafton, inveigh mightily against James, as ungrateful, perfidious, and forgetful of ancient courtesies, who being nobly entertained among the English for so many years, honoured with a royal match and large dowry, and besides, restored to liberty from a long imprisonment, suffered all these obligations to be postponed, and preferred the alliance with France, before that with England. But the thing itself doth easily refute their slanders. For first, their detaining of him, when he landed on their coast, being against their league, and also the law of nations, was a wrong, not a courtesy; next, as to their not-killing him, but putting him to a ransom for money, rather than imbrue their hands in the blood, not of an enemy, but of a guest, that was to be attributed, not so much to their love or mercy towards him, as to their avarice: and, grant there were any courtesy in it, yet what was it else but like that of thieves, who would seem to give the life, which they take not away? And, if he was engaged to the English on that account, it was a private, not a public debt. As for their be-

stowing education upon him who was innocent, by reason of his age, a suppliant by his fortune, and a king by descent, though most unrighteously detained, it bears indeed some shew of humanity, which, if they had neglected, they might have been justly blamed: and indeed, it had been a commendable piece of kindness, if the injury going before, and the covetousness following after, had not marred it; unless you will say, that if you purposely wound a man, you may require him to give you thanks for his cure; and so you imagine a light compensation for a great loss, is to be esteemed as a courtesy; or, because you have done a man half a good turn, you should be paid for a whole one. For he that takes care that his captive should be educated in learning, either for his own pleasure, or that he may yield him a better price, though some advantage accrue hereby to the party educated, yet the master doth not aim at the good of the slave, in his institution, but at his own. But, says he, “the king honoured him with the marriage of his kinswoman, and thus the royal young man was as royally bestowed.” But what if that affinity was as honourable to the father, as the son-in-law? He would else have married her to a private man, but now he made her a queen, and ingrafted her by marriage into that family, on which the most famous of the English kings had often before bestowed their children, and from whom so many former kings had descended. But “he gave a very large dowry with her.” To whom, I pray, was it given, but to the English themselves, who took it away before it was paid, and made a shew of it in words to the husband, but indeed kept it for their own use? So that the dowry was only spoken of, not given; and so spoken of, that they would have the young man, whom they also had otherwise unsufferably wronged, much indebted to them, that he carried his wife away with him, without a dowry. But “they sent him home a freeman,” say they. Yes, as a pirate doth discharge his captive, when his ransom is paid. But how free, I pray? Even, if we may believe the English writers themselves, under the forced obligation of an oath, always to obey the English king as his lord; and so to bring a kingdom, which he did not yet enjoy, into perpetual servitude, which if he had actually enjoyed, he could not alienate; and yet he must mancipate it, forsooth, before he received it. This is not to set one free, but to turn him loose with a longer chain, and that, not as a *king*, but as a *steward* only, or *vicegerent* of another man’s kingdom. I forbear to add, that they compelled a man in captivity, and as yet under the power of another, to make a promise; nay, a promise of that which he could not perform; neither could he compel those to perform it who had the power of it. This is that high piece of liberality, which, they say, James was unmindful of. But let us suffer these unskilful writers, and forgetful of all moderation and modesty in their stories, to account *profits received* as *courtesies given*; how great must we think that liberty of

falsifying, or desire of evil speaking to be, which they use against the daughter of the aforesaid king? For whereas such men, otherwise impudent enough, had nothing to allege against her manners, they write, that she was unacceptable to her husband, because of her stinking breath: whereas Monstrelet, a contemporary writer of those days, doth affirm, that she was virtuous and beautiful; and he who wrote the *Pluscartine Book*, who accompanied that queen, both at sea, and at her death, hath left it on record, that as long as she lived, she was very dear to her father and mother-in-law, and to her husband; as appeared by the inscription and epitaph in French verses at Chalons, by the river Matrona, where she died, which sound much to her praise: it was then published, and afterwards turned into the Scottish language, which most of our countrymen have by them to this day. But leaving these men, who do so calumniate other people's credit, and neglect their own, that they care little what they say of others, or what others think of them, let us proceed with our history.

When the king, having been at the charge to equip his fleet, had tried to exact a tax from the people, and the greatest part plainly refused to pay a penny, a few giving a small matter with an ill-will, he commanded his collectors to desist from levying the rest, and to restore what they had already received. And yet he did not hereby shun the clamours of the people; for some malcontents, who were angry at some private loss, incited every day seditious persons against him. At the same time, the English began to plunder Scotland, ravaging it both by land and sea, under the command of Piercy, earl of Northumberland: William Douglas, earl of Angus, was sent against him, with near an equal number of forces, for they were about four thousand on either side; of the Scots, there fell Alexander Johnston of Lothian, a person of quality, and of known valour; some write that two hundred, others, that only forty were slain of both armies, and about fifteen hundred English taken prisoners.

James, having been twice provoked by the English, first by their fleet, which lay in wait to intercept his daughter; and next, by the late ravaging of his country, resolves to proclaim open war against them; whereupon he listed as great an army as he could, and made a fierce assault on Roxburgh; and, in a short time, he expected its surrender, when the queen came posting to him in as long journies as ever she was able to perform, to inform him of very disagreeable news, which was, that there was a dreadful conspiracy formed against his life, and unless he took special care, his destruction was unavoidable. The king, being dismayed at the sudden news, disbanded his army, and returned home, but was very ill spoken of amongst the populace, because, when Roxburgh was just upon the point of surrendering, at the persuasion of a woman he retired, after the kingdom had been at so much charge and trouble;

so that he seemed to have sought for nothing by his arms but disgrace. After he returned, he went to the convent of the Dominicans, near the walls of Perth, to make a private inquiry into the conspiracy, as well as he was able; but his design was found out, by persons that watched all opportunities to execute the villany; for one of the king's domestics, who was in the plot, (historians call him John, but his surname is not mentioned) discovered to his complices what was doing at court, which made them hasten their design, lest their secret cabals should be discovered, and proper remedies applied against them. Walter earl of Athol, the king's uncle, tho' he was the ringleader of the conspiracy, yet did what he could to avert all suspicion from himself: he sent for his kinsman Robert Graham, (of whom I have spoken before) as fit for execution, but rash in counsel, and who bore an old grudge to the king, because of his former imprisonment and banishment, and also upon the account of his brother's son, (to whom he was guardian in expectancy) who had Strathearn taken from him; he joins with him Robert his grandson, an active young gentleman; he instructs them what he would have them to do, and that when the fact was committed he should be in supreme authority, and then he would provide for their safety. They freely promise to do their endeavour, and accordingly hasten to perpetrate the fact, before the whole series of the plot was made known to the king. Upon this, they privately gathered their company together, and knowing the king had but a few about him in the convent of the Dominicans, they thought they might surprise him, and dispatch him there with as little noise as possible: and they persuade John, his servant above-mentioned, whom they had drawn to their party, to be assistant to them. According to his promise, he brings the conspirators at midnight into the court, and places them privately near the king's bedchamber, and shews them the door, which they might easily break open, since he had taken away the bar. Some think, that they were received into the palace by Robert, nephew of the earl of Athol.

In the mean time, whilst they waited there, being solicitous how to break open the door, which they thought would be their greatest obstacle, fortune did the work without their help; for Walter Stratton, who a little before had carried in wine, coming out, and perceiving men in arms, endeavoured to get in again, and cried out with as loud a voice as he could, *Traitors! Traitors!* Whilst the conspirators were dispatching him, a young lady of the family of the Douglasses, as most say, though some write she was a Lovel, shut the door and not finding the bar, which was fraudulently laid aside by the servant, she thrust her arm into the hole or staple, instead of a bolt, but they quickly brake that, and so rushed in upon the king. The queen threw herself upon his body, to defend him; and spread herself over him as he lay, and could hardly be forced off, after she had received two wounds. When he was abandoned

by all, they gave him twenty-eight wounds, and some of them just in his heart. Thus this excellent king came to his end, and that a most cruel one, by the hands of robbers, and much lamented by all good men. When his death was divulged by the noise and lamentation which was made, a great concourse of people came presently into the court, and there passed the rest of the night (for the parricides had made their escape in the dark) in sad complaints. There, every one spoke variously according to their several dispositions, either severely, in order to raise a greater odium against the parricides, or in lamentable accents, to increase the grief of their friends: every one reckoned up what prosperities or adversities the king had undergone: how in his childhood he was exposed to the treacheries of his uncle; and endeavouring to escape him, was precipitated into the hands of the English. Afterwards his father dying, the rest of his youth was spent in exile among his enemies: then fortune changed, and he had an unlooked for restoration. How, after his return, in a few years the turbulent state of the kingdom was changed into a perfect calm. How at last, by a sudden change of affairs, he whom his enemies had spared abroad, was now slain by the treachery of his relations at home; and that in the flower of his age, and in the midst of his course of settling good laws and customs in his kingdom. Then they gave him his deserved eulogies for all his rich endowments both of body and mind; for men's envy was extinguished towards him now he was dead. His stature was scarce of a full size, yet he was robust and strong; insomuch that he exceeded all his equals in exercises of agility and manhood: and as to his mind, he was endued with that quickness and vigour of wit, that he was ignorant of no art, worthy the knowledge of a gentleman; and could speak plain Latin verses, according to that age, extempore. Some poems of his, written in the English tongue, are yet extant; in which there appears excellency of wit, though perhaps not so polite in point of learning. He was excellently well skilled in music, more than was indeed fit or expedient for a king; for there was no instrument, but he could play upon it so harmoniously, that he might have been compared with the best masters of that art in those days. But perhaps some will say, these are but the flowers of his studies, where is the fruit? These are more for ornament, than instruction or use, or requisite for a man of business. Know then, that after he had learned other parts of philosophy, he studied the regulation of kingdoms, and of the manners of men. How great, and how ripe abilities for civil government were in him, sufficiently appears by those acts performed by him, and by the laws which he made; by which he not only much benefited his own age, but all posterity. And his death declared, that there is nothing more popular than justice; for they, who were wont to detract from him, whilst he was alive, now he was dead, passionately revered his memory.

The nobles, as soon as they heard he was murdered, came in of their own accord from their respective countries, and, before a trial was regularly decreed, they voluntarily sent out into all parts, to apprehend the murderers, and bring them to justice. Many of them were taken; the principals were put to new and exquisite kinds of death; the rest were hanged. The chief heads in perpetrating this villainy were reckoned to be Walter earl of Athol, Robert his grandson, and their kinsman Robert Graham. The punishment of Walter (because he was the chief author, and instigator of the whole plot) was divided into three days successively. In the first, he was put on a cart, wherein a stork-like swipec or engine was erected: and by ropes let through pulleys, he was hoisted up on high, and then the ropes being suddenly loosed, he was let down again, but stopt near the ground, with intolerable pains by reason of the relaxation of the joints. Then he was set on a pillory, that every one might see him, and a red hot iron crown set on his head, with this inscription, *The king of all traitors*. They say, the cause of this punishment was, that Walter had been sometimes told by female witches, (for which the country of Athol was always infamous), that he should be crowned king in a mighty concourse of people: for by this means that prophecy was either fulfilled or eluded, as indeed such kind of predictions do commonly meet with no other events. The day after he was bound upon a hurdle, and drawn at a horse's tail through the greatest street in Edinburgh. The third day he was laid along a plank in a conspicuous place, and his bowels were cut out, whilst he was alive, cast into the fire, and burnt before his face; afterwards his heart was pulled out, and cast into the same fire; then his head was cut off, and exposed to the view of all, being set upon a pole in the highest place of the city. His body was divided into four quarters, which were sent to be hanged up in the most noted places of the principal cities of the kingdom. After him his grandson was brought forth to suffer; but because of his age, they would not put him to so much pain; besides, he was not the author, but only an accomplice in another man's wicked design, as having obeyed his grandfather therein; so that he was only hanged and quartered. But Robert Graham, who perpetrated the villainy with his own hand, was carried in a cart through the city, and his right hand nailed to a gallows, which was set up in the cart, and then came the executioners, who continually run red hot iron spikes into his thighs, shoulders, and those parts of his body which were most remote from the vitals: and then he was quartered as the other. After this manner was the death of James revenged: it is true, it was a barbarous one, but it was revenged by punishments so cruel, that they seemed to exceed the bounds of humanity; for such extreme kinds of punishment do not so much restrain the minds of the vulgar, by the fear of severity, as enrage them to do, or suffer any thing; neither do they so much deter wicked men

from committing such barbarous actions, as lessen their terror by often beholding them; especially if the spirits of the criminals be so hardened, that they flinch not at their punishment. For among the ignorant populace, “a stubborn confidence is sometimes praised for a firm and steady constancy.” James departed this life in the beginning of the year 1437, the 20th day of February, when he had reigned thirteen years, and in the forty-fourth year of his age. So great diligence was used in revenging his death, that within forty days all the conspirators were taken, and put to death. He left one son behind him, the younger of the twins, half of whose face (see the various operations of nature) was perfect scarlet.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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